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THE FACTS

OF

THE COTTON FAMINE.

BY

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PREFACE.

In producing this volume, my only motive has been to secure a reliable record of the main facts of the cotton famine. The great extent and importance of the cotton manufacture, its rapid rise and progress, its direct and reflex influences at home and abroad, its sudden paralysis by the indirect shock of the American war; the bearing of the people under their unexampled trials; the immense flow of benevolence to their aid; the various and manifold organisations which were improvised for the collection and distribution of the means of sustenance;—all seemed to me to demand registration for future reference. A hurried compilation, got up to hit the humour of the passing hour, could not possibly meet the want; and I suggested successively to several gentlemen, who were fully competent, that they should undertake the work. The result surprised me. It was an urgent request, from every quarter to which I applied, that I should myself prepare the record; and, seeing no other way of filling the void, I reluctantly consented; and have, for the last twelve months, given to the object all the leisure which my ordinary and imperative engagements would allow.

It is said that a sculptor is never satisfied with his own work, and I can well understand the feeling; for I am anything but satisfied with my book, and know that if it had to be re-written it would be materially improved.

I have, however, endeavoured to render it useful as well as interesting, by including a sketch of the rise and progress of the manufacture, up to the occurrence of the American war; and of the later social developments amongst the working classes, such as strikes for wages, and the establishment of co-operative stores and manufacturing companies; and seeing that the home trouble arose from our almost total dependence upon one foreign source of supply, I have set forth the efforts which have been made from time to time to abate that evil; and have discussed the helps and hindrances of the government, particularly as regards the attempts to extend and improve the growth of cotton in India. I have gone into considerable detail on the principal aspects of the crisis, and upon the principles and actions of the central executive; and have fully discussed the various remedial measures which were adopted, including the Rate in Aid Act, the Public Works Act, and the Union Chargeability Act; and have freely, but, I hope, fairly, criticised the various prominent actors therein. As "it is an ill wind which blows nobody good," I have endeavoured to find out who have got the good out of the cotton famine, and to apportion the gains and losses, amongst the cotton, woollen, and flax traders and their various dependants.

In the earlier portions of the book I have been much indebted to Mr. Mann's History of the Cotton Trade; the late Archibald Prentice's Historical Sketches of Manchester; and Mr. David Chadwick's pamphlet on wages; also to Mr. Henry Ashworth, and Mr. Bazley, M.P. In the sanitary portion, I have made free use of Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth's valuable book on education. In the narrative of the famine itself, I have to acknowledge great and willing assistance from Mr. Maclure, the honorary secretary to the central executive; and I have quoted freely from Mr. Edwin Waugh's descriptive sketches of the condition of the people, contributed to the *Manchester Examiner and Times*. To these, and to all who have rendered aid, I tender hearty thanks; and in the hope that my own labour may prove in some degree useful, I dedicate this volume to all who subscribed to the funds of the various relief committees, and to all who aided in the distribution of those funds; in the full conviction that the munificent gifts of the subscribers, and the arduous and pains-taking work of the distributors, saved thousands of valuable lives, and kept thousands also from worse than death.

JOHN WATTS.

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THE

FACTS OF THE COTTON FAMINE.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Antiquity of Cotton Manufacture—The Cotton Fibre—The Term Spinster—Inventions of Whyatt and Kay—Domestic Loom Shops—Habits of Early Cotton Operatives—Character of the Population—Holidays—Marriage—Rise of the Factory System—Cost of Cotton Goods in 1741 and 1860—Inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright—The Bridgewater Canal—Silk Factories—Turkey Red Dyeing and Calico Printing—Crompton's Mule—Cost of Spinning in 1779 and 1860—Cartwright's, Bell's, and Miller's Power Looms—Richard Roberts's Self-acting Mule and Loom—Watt's Steam Engine—Application of Coal Gas—Government Helps and Hindrances.

It is probable that the manufacture of clothing from vegetable fibre is almost as old as the existence of man, varied in different countries by the indigenous productions of each locality, and the varying necessity and ingenuity of the inhabitants. The most ancient mummies of Egypt are found wrapped in linen, and the earliest records of India show the existence of the cotton manufacture there as nearly as possible in the condition which subsists in the interior of that country at the present time, and which was universal until the recent establishment of cotton mills in Bombay. The distaff is still used for spinning, and the looms are still of the rudest construction, and yet some of the woven fabrics vie with the finest productions of Lancashire or Lanarkshire—showing that in this, as in many other arts, our progress has not been in delicacy of manipulation, but simply in the quantity of goods produced within a given time, by the substitution of machinery for hand labour. Cotton goods were exported from India in the second century of

the Christian era, and the muslins of Bengal were even then famous for their beautiful texture, and Surat produced at that time some such goods as the coloured chintzes which are now made in Lancashire, and used for bed furniture, or for chair and sofa covers. But the trade of Lancashire is the growth of not more than a single century, during which time it has risen to such a position as to enable the poorer portion of the population of the world to clothe themselves almost wholly in garments made from the filmy wings of the cotton seed. If these delicate fibres were not gathered by man, they would serve the same purpose to the cotton seed which the filaments attached to the seed of the dandelion perform for it—they would waft it through the air, or float it upon the water, until wind or waves found it a new home, so that, if deposited in proper soil, it might reproduce its kind. The genius of man economises the productions of nature, and, whilst appropriating to his own use the wings of the cotton seed, he performs by deputy the office of those wings for such a proportion of the seed as is necessary for his own future enjoyment. He carries it with certainty to earth already prepared for it, and is thus enabled to otherwise utilize the large proportion of seed which, apart from his superintendence, would fall "by the way side, or amongst thorns, or on stony ground," and produce no fruit.

The universality of the term "spinster" is proof enough of the former employment of one half of the unmarried population; and we know from history that matrons as well as maidens frequently spent a large portion of their time in preparing the materials of clothing for the family. At the present time, some 600,000 of the population of Lancashire, Lanarkshire, and their borders, produce the cotton clothing for half the world; a large proportion of this production being exchanged by our merchants for the comforts and luxuries of almost every clime. The tea of China, the coffee and corn of Turkey, the spices and dye stuffs of India, the tobacco of South America, the gold of California, the tallow and flax of Russia, the silk of Italy, the wool of Australia, the fruits of the Ionian Islands, and the furs of the Hudson's Bay settlements, are all bought directly or indirectly with the manufactures of Lancashire.

The cotton manufacture, doubtless owes its great progress to the durability, the cheapness, and the capacity for ornamentation offered by the various products of its industry.

The fibre of cotton is so fine and delicate as to need the use of a microscope for familiar examination, yet it is spun into yarns varying from the candle and lamp wick to that which forms the meshes of the finest lace; and the waste from these processes is made into twines and cordage, for tying up drapers' parcels, and for the package of heavy goods. Cotton yarns are woven into an immense variety of commodities, from the heaviest moleskin to the finest muslin ; the bricklayer's labourer and the belle of the ball-room being alike indebted for their clothing to the wings of the cotton seed. Cotton yarn frequently forms the weft of silk velvets ; it contributes one-half the substance of Orleans and Cobourg cloths, lustres, and lastings, and of many materials used for figured vestings. The march of economy which has led to the manufacture of woollen waste, has also opened up a new field for cotton yarns, and they now form the warp for low-priced cloakings and trouserings ; whilst raw cotton is often also "scribbled in" amongst the wool which forms the weft of these articles. The gorgeous silk damasks, which adorn the windows and cover the sofas and chairs of the nobility, frequently have cotton thread for weft; and the basis of the gimps, fringes, and trimmings, which ornament the dresses of the most fashionable ladies, is composed of cotton. And the refuse of refuse—the sweepings of the cotton mill—which, to appearance, is beyond all utility, is sent, together with the ragged remnants of cotton clothing, to the paper mill, is there torn literally to atoms, converted into pulp, and so diffused in water as to be invisible whilst the water is in motion, and in this condition is spread in a thin layer upon a blanket, pressed between rollers, sized, and dried, and then made a vehicle of knowledge in the shape of printing or writing paper, or it enters again into commerce as wrapping paper, and has before it as wide a field of usefulness as in its former and pristine condition. Up to the year 1741 the various processes of converting cotton fibre into useful articles constituted literally a manufacture in the proper sense of the term, for handwork was everything, machinery nothing. About that time the first step of improvement was achieved in each of the twin processes,—spinning and weaving. John Whyatt, of Birmingham, constructed a machine to spin a number of threads at once, by means of rollers instead of the spinning wheel, which produced only one thread at a time ; and John Kay, of Bury, produced the fly shuttle, to be driven

by the picking peg, instead of being thrown by the weaver from one hand to be caught by the other. By the old process a wide cloth would need two weavers to one loom, for one man would not be able to reach across the web. Kay's simple contrivance doubled the possible produce of a loom devoted to the making of plain goods, and was soon followed by the invention of the drop-box, which enabled the same contrivance to be applied to checks, by the use of two or three shuttles, each of which was supplied with a different coloured weft, as may be seen to this day amongst the hand-loom silk weavers of Spitalfields, in London; or amongst the same class at Middleton or Failsworth, in Lancashire; or even amongst the lingering remnant of gingham weavers by hand-looms in Manchester. At this date, and for many years afterwards, the cotton manufacture was entirely a domestic occupation. Spinners fetched their cotton and linen, weavers their warp and weft, from their employers to their own homes, and carried back the finished article to exchange for wages, just as many silk weavers and stocking frame knitters do at present.

A walk through the older portions of the towns of the cotton districts will exhibit clear evidence that the dwellings of the working people were built with a view to other than the purposes for which they are now occupied. The long ranges of windows in the upper stories were never intended for sleeping rooms, and their existence bespeaks a necessity which in later years has passed away, and enabled modern builders to assimilate their cottages to those of the workpeople of other localities. These upper stories were loom shops; and the traveller of sixty or seventy years ago through these streets would find the nicknack of the hand-loom as familiar a sound in Lancashire as the click of the stocking frame is in the villages of Leicestershire at the present day. Outside the towns the loom shop was often a one-storied erection attached to the back of the cottage, with unplastered walls, unceiled roof, and soil for the floor. And, judging from the records which remain to us, it would appear that the men of those days were too frequently as rude as their dwellings and workshops; a rough, honest, jovial, and hardy set of fellows, who worked when it suited them, and played as heartily as they worked. A meeting of hounds for a fox or stag hunt would stop most of the looms in a village; bull-baiting, bear-baiting, badger-baiting were thoroughly

popular sports, and in the absence of any such excitement, a cock-fight or a duck-hunt would frequently be improvised, or "Saint Monday" would be spent at foot racing or football during the day, whilst the evening would be jovially spent at the public-house or "hush shop" over cards or dominoes, with intervals for bacchanalian songs. Of course, gambling was not then any more than at present exempt from quarrelling, and the manner of settlement of these quarrels shows the terrible energy and earnestness of the Lancashire character. In the days when gentlemen thought it necessary to show their sense of right and to prove their courage by submitting in a quarrel to the chances of the best shot, the working men of Lancashire under similar circumstances stript themselves to the waist, and then grasped each other and fought with hands and feet, striking with the fists, kicking with their heavy clogs, pressing with the knees, strangling by grasping at the throat, up and down, until one or other was forced to relax his hold by sheer exhaustion.

The rudeness of the Lancashire character is, however, considerably modified, and is accompanied by so much hearty generosity amongst all classes, that it is at once forgotten in the genuine hospitality which follows. A traveller will find the country inns homely and cheap, and the landlords mostly intelligent and obliging; but men who are engaged in public business will seldom need to trouble the innkeepers. A guest to an educational or social gathering will on arrival commonly find lodgings prepared for him; he will be warmly welcomed at the festive board; his feet will rest upon rich ottomans, or be buried in long woolled snowy hearthrugs; and when the labours and enjoyments of the evening are over, he will find sweet oblivion upon a bed of down in a room heavy with decorations, and from which the light of day is strictly excluded, until the footman comes in the morning with hot water and announces the time to rise.

And the generosity of the poor is, except in its accessories, not very different to that of their richer brethren. The men are cast in the same mould; they give a rougher but not less hearty welcome; they unhesitatingly link arms with the visitor, and tell him that he is to "go to Thompson's to tay;" and, during the progress of the meal, he is frequently reminded that he is "aitin nought," whilst a brisk conversation is meanwhile kept up about the business

in hand. The tea is universally accompanied by hot cakes of flour, or flour mixed with potatoes, baked specially for the occasion, and soaked with butter. Oatcake of home production and cheese are also commonly found upon the table. But the lodging accommodation amongst the working class in the villages, during the first quarter of the present century, betokened more friendliness than delicacy. It happened too frequently that a workman's cottage consisted of but one room down stairs and one up; and if the family was small, the children would occupy a portion of the same room with the parents. Where could the kind-hearted souls stow away a visitor? The practice (which we hope is now extinct) was for the visitor in such a case to occupy a part of the host's bed—a male visitor sleeping behind the husband, and a female behind the wife. The writer was once, after attending a public meeting, taken to a lodging engaged for him, and, after supper shown into a double-bedded room. Not liking to complain about the accommodation which his good-hearted friends had provided, and assuming that the other bed was for a male lodger, he retired to rest, but had not got to sleep before the hostess and her grown-up daughter made their appearance in the room, and having partially undressed, extinguished the light which they had brought, and in due time took possession of the second bed. A slight noise disturbed the guest before daylight, but when the sun had risen, he found himself the sole occupant of the room. The hostess and her daughter had risen to work, and appeared at the breakfast table without a blush, thoroughly unconscious of any improper action. Breakfast amongst the operatives usually consists of oatmeal porridge, with milk or treacle according to taste, followed by a cup of boiled coffee, with bread and butter or cheese and oatcake.

It is said that one of the greatest disadvantages with which trade has to contend in Roman Catholic countries is the frequent holidays which interfere with and depreciate the discipline of the workshop, and thus by hindering work enhance the cost of production. In the days when the manufacture of cotton was a domestic occupation, holidays were frequent in Lancashire also, and so popular that even the most steady-going people felt impelled to join in them; and the physical exercise and enjoyment of these holidays, whilst hindering production and preventing economy, had yet their good side in promoting the health and longevity of the people. They were worse housed, worse paid, and worse taught, but

outside the towns they were stronger and longer lived than at present. The ceremony of marriage is regarded everywhere with especial interest. Rich and poor invite their friends to rejoice over the auspices of the new adventurers on the sea of life. In many countries the visitors are bearers of costly gifts, which serve not only as tokens of affection but aid materially in furnishing the house for the young couple. In rural Lancashire the custom a century ago differed somewhat from the usages of polite society; and Manchester, being a very large parish extending to Oldham and to Ashton, occasionally even now exhibits a remnant of the olden time. Manchester Cathedral or Parish Church is the favourite place for marriages amongst the country people; and it frequently happens that several couples, from the same locality, arrange their weddings for the same day, and make holiday in Manchester after the ceremony. Probably the blushing brides are kept in better countenance by the largeness of their escort, and stand the gaze of the smiling citizens better than they would do alone. However that may be, it was not unusual a few years ago for a company to adjourn from the church to the hotel, and after liberal refreshment to parade the streets, preceded by a fiddler playing some merry tune, and occasionally the confidence in the future was so great that a cradle formed part of the procession on the return home. The visitors to the weddings of the poor do not bear many presents, but the feast is never stinted, and it is common when all is over to share the expenses. This custom is sometimes abused by regular topers, who, knowing that many moderate people will share the payment, drink as long as they can keep their seats, and turn the marriage feast into a drunken orgie.

These strong-limbed and shrewd lovers of liberty, who were ready for any game requiring strength, agility, or endurance; ready even to be drilled by moonlight upon the mosses and wastes, so that they might be ready, in case of need, to fight for "their political rights;" were to be disciplined to regular hours of work, to learn to run at the sound of the factory bell as a serf at the command of his lord, or a dog at the word of his master. It is easy for us now-a-days to set up the doctrine that all useful work is honourable; easy for us to see that the lad who sweeps a crossing to the best of his ability is a hero; that it is a duty for every man to perform the work which is before him with all his might,

and that in so doing he is contributing to the progress of civilization, and increasing the enjoyments of all by whom he is surrounded; but the commencement of the factory system made great demands upon the workmen of Lancashire. They had been used to control their own time and to spend it as suited them; but factories demanded regular work, because all the fixed expenses would be the same whether all the hands were at work or not. Rents and taxes would go on, fuel must be paid for, and the machinery kept in motion if only half the proper number of hands were in attendance, and the economy of production would therefore depend very much upon the proportion of hands present to the machinery in rotation. But the economy of the employer would often look like cruelty to the workpeople, and there was a long and a hard struggle against the change from liberty and domesticity to the discipline of the factory; but it was the struggle of ignorance against intelligence, of weakness against strength, the struggle of man against the powers of nature.

Kay's fly shuttle appears to have been willingly and speedily adopted, for it enabled each weaver to increase his production, and if it did not find him more work to do would simply give him more leisure for enjoyment. It required no costly alteration, sacrificed no old machinery, and could therefore make its way with "undertakers" who owned shops of looms, and spent their own time principally in going to and from the warehouses and in general superintendence of the workshop; and the drop-box would doubtless meet with equally ready acceptance for the same reasons.

Mr. Mann, in his history of the cotton trade, tells us that in 1741 *(i.e.*, just prior to these inventions), the weaving of a piece containing 12lbs. of one shilling and sixpence weft (a very coarse quality) occupied a weaver's family about fourteen days, and that the price for weaving was eighteen shillings; that spinning the weft cost nine shillings; and picking, carding, and roving about eight shillings; making a total cost for work alone, exclusive of spinning the warp, of thirty-five shillings—add for the spinning and preparing the linen warp eighteen shillings, and the total cost of workmanship alone would be fifty-three shillings for a piece of coarse cloth weighing about 24lbs. Just before the cotton famine, good grey twills of pure cotton were freely sold at tenpence per pound, or twenty shillings for 24lbs.

Improvements in the process of spinning were in quite a different category to those in weaving. A spinning frame producing a number of threads at the same time threatened to annihilate the spinning wheel,—threatened also the domestic arrangements which had hitherto been carried on in harmony with the demands of trade. Kay had simply doubled the power of the loom, but there was no apparent limit to be set to the power of a spinning frame, and it therefore threatened also to deprive some people of employment.

It would be a curious inquiry to trace out the causes which lead to the centralising of any industry in a particular locality, but it is beyond our present range. It is easy enough to see that prior to the construction of railways and canals it would be difficult to conduct any operations of great magnitude far from the market for produce, and thus, in trades dependent upon foreign countries, the towns and cities upon navigable rivers would enjoy a great advantage over those situate in the interior of the country. Cotton seems to have tried various localities before finally settling down in South Lancashire. Whyatt's first frame for spinning two hundred and fifty threads at once was set up in the Priory at Birmingham, and was turned by cattle, and he afterwards tried another at Northampton. Hargreaves, who worked a spinning frame in 1767, was driven from Blackburn to Nottingham, and was followed there by Arkwright with his water frame, and about the year 1795 cotton was also spun on frames in the Priory at Coventry; but in later years the trade has been almost confined to Lanarkshire, in Scotland, and in England can hardly be said to flourish beyond a forty miles radius from Manchester. Probably the convenience of the rivers Mersey and Irwell, which practically join Manchester to the cotton port of Liverpool, materially assisted in this centralization, and the energy of the late Duke of Bridgewater, and of his engineer, Brindley, practically settled the question, by means of the canal which, having wharves close to various pits and making an additional highway between Manchester and Liverpool, distributes coals for consumption and also carries produce to market.*

The total amount of cotton imported into this country in 1781 was 5,198,778 lbs., or about 13,000 bales of 400 lbs. each, which was equal to the consumption of about a day and a half in 1860.

* The available coal of South Lancashire is estimated at 4,000,000,000 of tons.

The greater portion of that amount probably came from the Levant, for the whole of the cotton exported from India fifteen years later was 853,920lbs., and 864lbs. of this was sent to America, where the cultivation of this important staple was just commencing. In the year 1800 the consumption of cotton in this country had reached about 129,000 bales of 400lbs. each, being equal to about three weeks consumption in 1860.

No good results were achieved by Whyatt's spinning frame, and the invention was practically neglected for a generation, whether for lack of capital or from imperfect working does not appear; but from the date of the invention of the jenny by Hargreaves, and the application of the water frame by Arkwright, progress was really begun, and has been steadily continued ever since.

The great advantage of these frames was the increase of production, but by their superior work they also enabled cotton to be substituted for linen warp, and thus further economised the cost of manufacture. Trade was rapidly extending and Manchester merchants were growing rich, and to meet the ever increasing demand they, about the year 1800, put out warp and weft for weaving, not only to dwellers in their immediate vicinity, but to undertakers from the surrounding villages, and from Oldham, Ashton, Hyde, Bury, Bolton, and other places. A lounger on the outskirts of Manchester would often see an irregular procession of weavers, with their white aprons, coming to town in the morning with calico pieces, and returning in the evening with wallets slung over their shoulders loaded with warp and weft for the next week's work. And not unfrequently would they turn into a favourite alehouse on the road, and, forgetting that wives and children were anxiously waiting their return, would carouse far into the night, and then stagger home under burdens increased by inebriety but with sadly lightened purses, and a prospect of short supplies until the next delivery of goods.

Mr. Mann tells us that a person engaged for eight hours at the spinning wheel could only produce about twelve ounces of yarn of a low quality, and that the average cost of spinning would be about three shillings per pound. A fair estimate of all the improvements will be formed when we state that the cotton consumed in 1860 was more than six hundred times as great as at

the period spoken of, and that the cost of spinning alone, calculated at three shillings per pound, would be nearly thrice as much as the total value of all the cotton goods produced; or, in other words, that the improvements have reduced the cost of goods to about one-twelfth their former price. One shilling in 1860 would purchase nearly as much as twelve shillings did at the period spoken of by Mr. Mann.

The invention of the spinning frames necessitated the erection of large buildings, and pointed to the application of water or other mechanical power, and the exchange of domestic for factory labour. There is no difficulty in realising the fact that such a change would be regarded with intense dissatisfaction by the jovial and liberty-loving operatives of South Lancashire. It is easy enough to rise early and to work long hours under excitement, for some special object; but for boys and girls to rise regularly through the bleak winter, and trudge a mile or more through rain, or sleet, or snow, to be ready for the six o'clock bell, would be a great hardship. When working at home a temporary headache or toothache would be a fair excuse for an hour's extra rest, a feeling of listlessness would be dispelled by a turn in the garden or up the field path, and the accidental call of a friend from a distance would lead to an afternoon's chat or a country walk; but factory occupation forbids all these indulgences; a slight ailment must not interfere with work, and absence without leave would necessarily endanger employment.

And factory work would not only destroy domesticity and freedom, but would also annihilate the capital of the workman. Many a man who by hard work and strict economy had become the owner of a few looms would, if he lost health, solace himself, and say to his wife, "Well, lass, if aught happens me thou'lt ha' th' looms, and they'll help thee along;" and he would look upon anything which lessened the value of this property not only as a misfortune, but as a cruel injustice. Perhaps the natural repugnance of the people to forsake their domestic occupations stimulated the resort of manufacturers to the agricultural districts for families for the sake of their juvenile labour, and to workhouses for apprentices to learn cotton spinning and weaving. Persons who remember what the workhouses were before the enactment of the new poor-law, how the name workhouse, or house of industry, was an entire

mockery, will not be surprised that the transference of ignorant youths from abodes of idleness into factories heated to sixty or seventy degrees Fahrenheit, where the labour required continual and close attention for twelve hours per day, should originate tales of the grossest cruelty; and that the "herding" together of hundreds of persons of both sexes should have been pronounced productive of great immorality. Nor is it likely that the reports were all fictitious, for it would be difficult even now to give scores of orphans into the charge of men whose only interest is to extract out of them as much labour as possible, without finding plenty of room for complaint; nevertheless thousands of parish apprentices have fulfilled their terms of service and become clever workmen, and have seen reason to be thankful that they were sent into the cotton districts, instead of being left to alternate for life between southern agricultural wages and the workhouse. We all dislike flogging at school, and some of us have had experience of brutal schoolmasters, but we learn in after life to see that the faults were not all on one side, and all malice is dismissed, and we shake hands heartily in our maturer years with the men who were the terror of our youth; and the experience of the school is equally applicable to the period of apprenticeship or any other servitude.

The progress of the factory system in Lancashire is being enacted over again in the silk trade in the present day. During the last half-century the "single hand loom," making one ribbon at a time, has been superseded by the "engine loom," making from four to thirty pieces at once; and that again by the "power loom," adapted for domestic use by the substitution of a windlass or a lever for the work of hands and feet at the batten and the treddles; and many a man who, forty years ago, reckoned his possessions at a hundred pounds in looms finds his fortune reduced to the value of firewood. So strong was the feeling in Coventry against the factory system, thirty years ago, that an intelligent weaver, in a discussion upon the utility of the application of steam power to machinery, declared that rather than let his children go to work in a factory he would dash out their brains against the wall. The strength of this prejudice burned down the first ribbon factory, and has since led to an attempt at compromise between domestic employment and the mill. Rows of cottages have been built with loom-shops in the upper story, and a shaft running through the

whole of the shops, turned by a steam engine erected in the centre of the row. A charge is made for steam power in the rent, and the engineer attends during a given number of hours per day ; but if the weaver desires to continue at work after the engine has stopped he resorts to the windlass, which he gets a boy to turn. The weak point in this system is, that the vagaries of fashion render ribbon weaving an irregular trade, so that in a row of twenty cottages it will often happen that half of the looms are empty. Yet the power must be paid for whether used or not, and the weaver finds himself saddled with a burden which, under the factory system, would be borne by the employer ; and the consequence is, that on the occurrence of bad trade the power-loom cottages are the first to be deserted, and thus the landlord loses not only his steam-power rent but that of the cottages also. The remedy will probably be found by the employer owning the cottages, and charging for power only when the looms are at work, which will make it doubly his interest to keep the tenants employed.

In 1762 Wilson, of Ainsworth, began to dye Turkey red, and in the following year grass bleaching was generally resorted to ; but it was a tedious process, requiring constant exposure and frequent wetting of the goods for months. In 1774 it was shortened one-half, by the use of diluted acid ; and in 1786 James Watt brought home from France the invention of Berthollet for chemical bleaching, which reduced the time of the operation to a few hours, and released the pastures, which, to a stranger's eye, had for a quarter of a century looked like pictures of winter all the year round. In 1764 calicoes were first printed in Lancashire ; and in 1786 machinery invaded this department also, substituting cylinders with continuous patterns for the square blocks of wood, from which patterns had hitherto been impressed by hand; and the race of improvement has gone on until as many as fifteen cylinders and fifteen different troughs of colour contribute simultaneously to the most complicated and beautiful patterns which adorn the furniture prints of the present day.

Hargreaves' spinning jenny commenced in 1767 with eight spindles ; in 1770 it had sixteen spindles, but it was only fit for weft yarns, which require less strength than warp. Arkwright followed closely upon the heels of Hargreaves, and in 1769 produced the water frame, which, whilst drawing out the roving, gave

it also the requisite twist to fit it for warp yarn. The drawing or elongating was effected by passing the yarn between two sets of rollers, the second pair of which revolved more rapidly than the first, and therefore elongated the thread in the proportion of the different rates of motion.

As this machine was an improvement upon, so it practically superseded that of Hargreaves, and left him unrewarded for all his labours. Arkwright succeeded in finding the necessary capital for the erection of mills, and in producing largely enough not only to repay his outlay but to accumulate a handsome competency.

In 1769 he erected a mill at Nottingham ; and in 1771 he built a second at Cromford, in Derbyshire, and increased the produce of yarn to such an extent that he found it advisable also to procure looms for weaving it.

The father of the first Sir Robert Peel had attempted cylinder carding in Blackburn about 1760, instead of hand combing to straighten the fibres of cotton, but the difficulty of stripping the cylinders by hand caused its abandonment. Hargreaves, in or about 1773, brought out the crank and comb for stripping the cotton from the cylinders in one continuous sheet of fleece, which, being contracted and drawn through a funnel, formed a "sliver" or loose filmy roll, ready for twisting. Two years later this contrivance was included in a patent by Arkwright, and poor Hargreaves was again left stranded. Some authorities, however, it is fair to say, give to Arkwright the credit of the invention, as also of the drawing frame, which is connected with it in the patent. This latter machine straightens the fibres by stretching the sliver each time it is passed through, two or more slivers being united into one before each passage. The sliver is then ready for the roving frame, which being fitted with three pairs of rollers, each revolving at different speeds, so as to continue the stretching process and reduce the sliver to the requisite degree of fineness, then delivers it into tall circular tin cans, which are kept revolving rapidly, so as to twist the sliver or roving sufficiently to allow it to be wound upon wooden bobbins. This machine enabled spinners to substitute cotton for linen warp yarn, thus achieving a measure of economy whilst supplying a more satisfactory medium for calico printers. Microscopic examination shows that the fine and delicate cotton fibre is a hollow cylin-

drical tube, and it is said that the mordaunt used by printers drives the colour into the interior of these tubes, and thus produces fast colours; but that the colour rests only upon the surface of the solid woody fibre of linen, and so more easily washes off.

In 1779 the inventions of Arkwright were in turn eclipsed by the mule produced by Samuel Crompton, of Bolton, a machine which derived its name from its combination of the principles of the jenny of Hargreaves and the water frame of Arkwright. This machine draws out the roving, as in the water frame, and when a certain length is drawn out, it is then twisted by revolving spindles, and wound into a somewhat conical form, called a cop, and is ready for the shuttle. Crompton's first mule had only twenty spindles, but the principle combining the greatest simplicity with the most economical and perfect result yet attained was there, and was capable of indefinite extension. The best commentary upon the value of this invention is the fact that, whilst the size of the mule has been increased time after time, until it has reached twelve hundred spindles, producing twelve hundred threads at once, the only considerable variation from or addition to Crompton's arrangement has been the introduction of the self-acting principle—moving the carriage backwards and forwards by means of the steam engine instead of by the hands of the spinner, and securing thereby the same exact amount of twist in each length or stretch of yarn, instead of depending on the judgment of the workman. The movable carriage upon which the spindles are ranged recedes from the rollers more rapidly than they deliver the threads, and the yarn is therefore stretched and twisted at the same time, in addition to the stretching produced by the increasing velocity of the different sets of rollers. The mule in its rudest form sufficed to produce what is called 80's yarn, but it has since produced usable yarn so fine as to require eight hundred hanks of 840 yards each to weigh one pound.

This machine—much more valuable for its saving of labour than the water frame—was not patented; and the consequence was that, whilst Arkwright amassed a very large fortune, and received a baronetcy from the crown, to be converted into a peerage in the son of his partner (Mr. Strutt, afterwards Lord Belper), it cost a vast amount of labour to get from the government the paltry sum of five thousand pounds for Crompton; and this sum

was the reward for all his labours, the value of which to society would be beyond the power of estimate in money. In 1785 the inventions of Arkwright also became public property, the validity of his patents having been successfully contested—a circumstance which is held by some persons to prove only the malice of his competitors, and by others that his genius consisted mainly in the clever manipulation of the fruits of other men's labours.

The cost of spinning 80's mule yarn in Crompton's time was forty-two shillings; of 60's, twenty-five shillings; and of 40's, fourteen shillings per pound; the cost of the same articles just prior to the cotton famine was one shilling, sevenpence halfpenny, and fourpence respectively.

In 1783 the atmospheric engine was applied to machinery in Manchester, and in the next year Dr. Cartwright, of Glasgow, endeavoured to secure progress in the weaving process, so as to bring it more nearly into accord with the great advance made in spinning machinery. The productive power of the spinner had been increased a hundred fold, whilst that of the weaver had simply been doubled.

With this view he constructed a loom to be worked by steam power. It was a clumsy instrument and brought its author no profit, but it was the commencement of a great revolution. The necessity for improvement was obvious, and men's minds were now directed to the subject; and the fortune accumulated by Arkwright seemed to say that there were prizes as great in store for successful improvers of looms as had been already achieved by adventurers in the spinning department. England was becoming famous for her machinery, but the legislature was exceedingly jealous of foreigners, and a law was passed in 1786 which imposed fines upon persons who were *guilty* of exporting it. Thus early was the progress of one trade sacrificed to the mistaken idea of protecting another, as if a trade in machinery would not have served the interests of England as well as a trade in textile or any other fabrics.

Cartwright's loom was never got effectually to work, and of course brought him no profit, as it did society no positive service; but in 1794 Bell, also of Glasgow, produced a power loom of improved pattern; and two years later Miller, of Preston, tried his fortune in the same direction; but it was not till 1813 (a generation after

Cartwright's attempt) that a really-useful loom was produced, by Horrocks, of Stockport; and this invention, like the self-acting mule, received its final form from the late Richard Roberts, of Manchester, an universal mechanical genius, the owner of nearly a hundred patents, who nevertheless died at last in great poverty. One of the chief difficulties in power-loom weaving was the want of an automatic dressing machine. In 1804 Johnson, of Stockport, patented a plan for dressing a whole length of warp at once; and two years later this machine was improved upon by M'Adam, of Glasgow, and a few years later still was further improved by Messrs. Ross & Radcliffe, of Stockport.

The application of the power of falling water to the propulsion of machinery would have enabled all the inventions of which we have spoken to be utilized, but if water alone had constituted the motive power, the manufacture would have been confined to the river banks, and have been dependent to a most injurious extent upon the state of the weather; so that the vast extension of the last half-century, with its multiplied comforts and enjoyments, would have been impossible. But simultaneously with the progress of cotton machinery, experiments upon a new motive power were being carried on, and in 1785 Messrs. Boulton & Watt produced their steam engine—a giant so perfect in his advent that five years only elapsed before Arkwright's mills at Cromford were turned by the strength of his arms. From Hargreaves' jenny to Crompton's mule were twelve years, from Cartwright's loom to that of Horrocks were thirty years, but James Watt produced and successfully applied the steam engine at once, and the greatest industry of the world was thus unchained; and, leaving the river banks, climbed the hills and spread over the moors, reclaiming them from waste to produce food for the tens of thousands of operatives, who, by the help of the new power, were elaborating useful and luxurious clothing for half the world.

The engineer of the Bridgewater canal is reported to have been so enthusiastic in his profession as to have said that the chief use of rivers was to feed canals; much more reasonably might an enthusiast for the steam engine assert that the chief use of water is to be converted into steam as a motive power, for its utility is so vast and its application so varied as to be perfectly astounding. A pint of water and two ounces of coals will, by the aid of a steam

engine, raise a weight of seventy-four tons to the height of one foot, and a single bushel of coals will exert as much force as fifty-four horses.

By the labour of the steam engine mines are sunk and drained, coals and metallic ores are raised to the surface, thus providing its own food and water; the metallic ores are crushed, the metal forged and rolled, planed, turned, drilled, bored and polished, ready to be fitted into machines of all kinds, including the steam engine itself, which may therefore be called self-producing; by the aid of the steam engine, stones are cut and dressed; clay is ground and compressed into bricks; corn is converted into flour and kneaded into dough; wool, flax, silk, and cotton are spun into thread, woven into cloth, and stitched into garments; and when all these things are prepared for use, the steam engine distributes them throughout the length and breadth of the land, and carries them across the ocean, against wind and tide to the uttermost ends of the earth, spreading civilization and increasing enjoyment everywhere.

But one more invention was necessary to achieve the complete independence of the cotton trade. The improvements in spinning and weaving furnished immense powers of production; the steam engine gave a wide range in the choice of locality for the trade; the people learned in due time to respond to the factory bell as the pious villager does to the Sunday chime: but wintry days were short and dark, whilst the fixed charges of the spinner remained the same as in summer, and the light of oil and candles was dear, dull, dirty, and dangerous. The crowning point of invention was reached in 1803, when coal gas was introduced into a mill in Salford, giving light enough for efficient work independently of the sun, and thus practically doubling the powers of production, and minimising the danger of artificial light, by compressing twenty-three candles into a single jet at less than a quarter of the cost.

The progress of the cotton trade would, in all probability, have been even more rapid if it had not been an object of especial care from time to time with the legislature. In 1798 an import duty was levied upon raw cotton, and was continued with no less than fourteen changes in the rate of duty till its final extinction in 1845; so that this giant trade has only been completely unfettered at home for twenty years. But not satisfied with taxing the raw material, the legislature imposed a ban upon the ornamentation

of calico, in the shape of an excise, first of sixpence, and afterwards of threepence per square yard on printed cottons, which latter duty was only removed in 1831. Practically, they said to the people, "if you will seek to increase your comforts by importing foreign productions for manufacture, you shall pay a fine for each offence, and when you have suffered the punishment you may make plain calico if you like; but if you venture to exercise taste upon it, or to gratify the love of colour in any way, you shall pay an additional fine to the government." Thus enterprise and improvement met with the same treatment as misdemeanours, and the taxes imposed made an unnaturally large capital necessary for the pursuit of trade, whilst the merchants were converted into tax-gatherers, at salaries dependent on the competition amongst themselves; but they were forced to pay the taxes, whether they collected them or not; they paid not only on their incomes but on their losses also, for if they never got paid for goods sold they must still pay the tax, as well as losing the goods. It is not wonderful that such legislation led to schemes to cheat the government; and employés of the last generation of calico printers tell strange stories about the excisemen being plied with wine whilst charging the duty, and forgetting their own duties in consequence. It is wonderful that any trade should flourish at all when subjected to the incubus of excise, but it is not wonderful that morality should give way, before the prospect of large profit, by pleasing a corruptible official.

CHAPTER II.

Views of Employers and Operatives on Improvements of Machinery—A League against Machine-spun Yarns—Machinery Riots in 1779—Measured Madness—The War of 1793 and its Effects upon Trade—The Wage Question—Machinery the Scapegoat for War—Bankruptcies in 1793—The War of Tariffs and the Price of Bread—Import Duty on Cotton, and its Effects—Prohibition to Export Machinery—Government Nursing—The State of Blockade, 1806, and the Orders in Council—The American Embargo on Foreign Trade—Machinery and Food Riots at Leicester, Nottingham, Manchester, &c.—Economical Errors of Employers—Prejudices against Foreigners—Riots of 1826 and 1829—Destruction of Power Looms—Commencement of Working Class Day Schools, and Rise of Political Feeling.

IMPROVEMENT is never secured without labour and trouble. It has often been asserted that teaching is the hardest work in the world, and every thoughtful man knows that it is much more difficult to teach men than to teach children. The potter hath power over the clay, but that is before it is burned; for after the action of the fire of experience, or the hardening process of age with ignorance, it is very difficult to secure a change, however obvious the advantage. The working classes are in these days often very severely judged when they oppose obvious improvements, but they are not more than two generations behind their employers in their strongest prejudices.

The spinning wheels and primitive looms were commonly either the property of the operatives who worked them, or of undertakers who fitted up (gaited) the looms, and then occupied themselves mostly in superintendence. The capital of the employer purchased the raw cotton and the imported fine warp yarns of cotton, or of home-spun linen, and paid the wages of the operatives. Any improvement in looms seemed to the weaver to threaten his employment, by needing fewer hands to supply the then present demand for goods; to the undertaker it threatened to annihilate the value of his property; and to the masters any improvement which increased production by a competitor in spinning or in weaving seemed as if it would rob them of a market for their

goods, the demand being looked upon by nearly all as a fixed quantity. So when the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright promised to increase the production of yarns beyond the power of the then looms to weave, the employers of the weavers combined amongst themselves in a determination not to purchase machine-made yarns. The intention was to ruin the frame spinners, but the effect was to make Arkwright a manufacturer as well as a spinner. And when the government had determined to tax machine-made calico as if it was of foreign manufacture, and an application was made to parliament for relief, this league of employers opposed the application. This opposition failed, and it became really clear that employers who meant to prosper must invest capital in machinery, and then poor Hargreaves' patent was pirated without scruple because he was poor, and Arkwright's was legally contested and nullified four years before it would have expired by effluxion of time. It was seen that the race for riches would be won by the owners of spinning frames and power-looms, and employers who possessed the necessary means entered heartily into the contest, and left the prejudices against machinery as a legacy to the operatives.

To these latter the future did not look so promising; they were afraid of lessened employment, they saw their domestic machines losing all value, and they disliked the prospect of factory life, with its regular hours and its forced associations with persons who were not desirable companions; and, before the new institution could get fairly established, the curse of war came upon them, and, by shutting up foreign markets, brought about the woe and want which they innocently ascribed to the effects of machinery. Hargreaves was driven to Nottingham by the destruction of his jennies in Blackburn; Kay, of Warrington (said by some persons to have been the real inventor of the water frame), had preceded him for a similar reason; and Arkwright sought the same asylum after suffering the destruction of a mill at Chorley.

Mr. Mann tells us that "we have in the riots at Blackburn (1779) evidence that the use of machinery was producing an effect upon the working class." The mob scoured the country for miles, destroying all the jennies and other machines with which Hargreaves had supplied the spinners and weavers. And at this time the middle and upper classes looked quietly on, for they also

ignorantly supposed that the only tendency of the power afforded by the machines was to contract the demand for hand labour, not having yet learned that the improved and cheapened manufacture would inevitably cause a corresponding increase of demand.

But there was a measure to this madness amongst the rioters, for jennies having not more than twenty spindles were spared, whilst all others were either cut down to that same number or destroyed. A jenny of twenty spindles was a domestic implement, a larger one would scarcely stand in a cottage. A small measure of improvement was allowable, but a great improvement was mischievous! Such was the philosophy of the mob eighty or ninety years ago, and not of the mob only, for the rioters' cause was popular with those above them; and the destruction of Arkwright's mill went on in the presence of a large body of special constables, who appear to have made no effort to prevent it. The machinery belonging to Mr. Peel, the father of the first Sir R. Peel, was also destroyed at Oldham, and he afterwards retired to Burton-on-Trent. But amidst all this prejudice, and tumult, and riot, the trade still increased.

The consumption of cotton in 1785 (when Arkwright's machines became public property) was 17,992,888 lbs., and in seven years after it had risen to 33,442,032 lbs., an increase of nearly a hundred per cent.

On 28th January, 1793, the King (George III.) in his message to parliament, informed the members that he had resolved to augment his forces "for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, at all times dangerous to the interests of Europe, but especially so when connected with the propagation of principles subversive of the peace and order of society."

In this year the consumption of cotton fell to 17,869,363 lbs., or back to the position of 1785, when a large proportion of the goods produced were by the primitive spinning wheel and loom; and the exports fell from £2,024,368 to £1,733,807, being fourteen and a half per cent. Employment was scarce and wheat was rising in price, but the French revolution had effectually frightened the nation, and the war being popular could not of course be supposed to have produced scarcity of work, or to have added six shillings per quarter to the price of wheat. The doctrine that reproductive labour alone is

permanently useful had not yet found many preachers, and people could not understand why the cessation of corn growing and calico making for the employment of killing their customers should get them into trouble. The general opinion amongst workmen was that the rate of wages was according to the whim of the employer, and that it could only be the new machinery which enabled him to diminish their wages or to dispense with their services. They did not know that as the only reason for the employment of new machinery is the extra profit made by it as compared with the old, so a considerable proportion of that extra profit being saved by the employer goes to increase the employment fund, and must, therefore, in order to realise further profit, be re-invested, and add to the bulk of wages paid. It is true that the re-investment may not be wholly made in the department which produced it, that is to say, the profit got out of spinning may not all be spent in spinners' wages, and that, therefore, a temporary displacement may occur; but whether the profit be spent upon extra spinning, or on the production of machinery, or on the building of mills or houses, it must pay wages, must promote the prosperity of the operatives, and must increase the demand for all necessary and useful articles. They knew only that a larger proportion of operatives were out of work than before the improvements in machinery, and they looked no farther for the cause of their distress. But Wheeler, in his history of Manchester, throws a light upon the subject, for he tells us that in 1793 the bankruptcies nearly trebled those of the preceding year, shewing that the mercantile classes suffered not less than the operatives in the diminution of their wealth, if not of their food; and he also tells us that the peace of Manchester was only maintained by the parade of troops with torches through the streets by night. Bad harvests accompanied the war, and in three successive years the prices of wheat ran up from forty-seven shillings and tenpence to fifty shillings and eightpence—seventy-two shillings and elevenpence and seventy-six shillings and threepence per quarter. With war taxes, bad harvests, and the annihilation of foreign trade, it is not wonderful that a disposition to riot was frequently manifested in various parts of the country.

In 1796 the French, in order to strike a blow at the "nation of shopkeepers," prohibited the import of English manufactures, and

thus commenced the war of tariffs, whilst the human war was still raging; and, as if to punish the nations to the utmost for their folly, the earth refused its customary fruits, and the price of wheat, which in 1797 had fallen to fifty-two shillings and twopence, and in 1798 to fifty shillings and four-pence, ran up again in the next three years to sixty-six shillings and elevenpence, one hundred and ten shillings and fivepence, and one hundred and fifteen shillings and elevenpence per quarter. In this last year (1802) old men say that the sixpenny loaf was not larger than a man's fist, and was nearly as black as peat bog, and that thousands of people died from absolute want of food.

In 1798 the English government imposed a duty upon imported cotton, varying from six shillings and sixpence to twelve shillings and sixpence per 100 lbs., except on the productions of the East Indies, which were taxed at four per cent *ad valorem*, or five shillings and fourpence per 100 lbs. at the then price of Surats. Cotton goods, being cheaper than linen, were rapidly increasing in demand for home consumption, and this tax did not actually diminish the imports, which, indeed, were 7,500,000 lbs. more than in the previous year; but the power of the spinners had outstripped the demand of the manufacturers, and whilst the import duty raised the prices of raw cotton greatly beyond the amount of the tax, the prices of yarns fell off considerably. Uplands cotton rose from twenty-four pence to thirty-three pence per pound, Brazils from thirty-one pence to thirty-nine pence, and Surats from sixteenpence to twenty-three pence per pound; whilst mule twist, No. 100's, fell from nineteen shillings to nine shillings and tenpence per pound. A large portion both of the rise in cotton and the fall in twist was no doubt due to the increased demand created by the new machinery, and the facility of production by its means; but all experience goes to show that a tradesman cannot be made to invest his capital in taxes at less than a trading profit, which is always many times as much as the mere cost of collection. And this is necessarily so, for if a tradesman sells goods with the tax paid, and his customer becomes a defaulter, the tradesman is in the position of paying taxes upon his losses, and he must needs make his solvent customers pay for these bad debts, taxes included, in order to save himself from ruin.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to understand the policy of the legislature in its various enactments concerning the cotton manufacture, for they are as inconsistent as the vagaries of an ignorant mother towards a child, which she first pets, and then scolds, and then pets again, just according to her own humour for the time being, and without regard to the real interests of her charge. In 1782 an act was passed prohibiting the export of engraved copper plates and blocks, and imposing a penalty of £500, or twelve months' imprisonment, for enticing any workman engaged in calico printing to go beyond the seas. The operatives, regardless of their own interests or inclinations, were to be kept at home for the benefit of the employer; and the employer, in his turn, was forbidden to sell the fruits of his enterprise to a Frenchman or a Dutchman, but was to be satisfied with the prices procurable at home. This was trade in a strait waistcoat, for fear that it should be mad enough to ruin itself by finding out and occupying the best markets.

In the next year (1783), the import duty on foreign muslins, calicoes, and nankeens was reduced; and at the same time a bounty was given on the export of British printed and dyed cottons. Here there was in operation, at the same time, the removal of a piece of protection by the lowering of import duties, and the enactment of another by the gift of a bounty. Surely, if English prints needed a bounty to send them into foreign markets, there was not much need to prohibit the export either of operative engravers or of the plates produced by them; for their work could not be in great demand in markets which our finished goods needed a bounty to reach. The operative was kept at home to engrave, and the whole nation was taxed to make a foreign trade for him and for the calico printer; whilst, on the other hand, the price of the raw material, which employed them in common with all the cotton operatives, was artificially increased by the import duty on cotton, and the cost of dress was further enhanced at home by an excise on calico prints; when the simple removal of these taxes would in all probability have stimulated the whole of the trade, and have served the calico manufacturer and printer vastly more than any government nursing could do. But the nurse exacted wages from its child, for, in 1784, calico printers, bleachers, and dyers were obliged to take out licences, and an excise of a penny per

pound was imposed on all bleached calicoes. In the same year a tax was also imposed on fustians, which so manifestly hindered the trade that it was repealed in the next session of parliament. These oscillations between government petting and government punishment seem then to have settled down till 1802, when the import duty on raw cotton was increased in ratio, without producing an increased revenue; and was increased again in 1803, and still again in 1805, when it reached its highest point; and from 1809 was reduced on various occasions, until finally extinguished in 1845.

In 1806 the famous Berlin decree of Napoleon declared the British Islands in a state of blockade, and all captured British goods lawful prizes, and excluded British vessels from trade in all the ports of France, and all countries under her control; and every vessel, of whatever nation, which had touched at any British port, was put in the same category.

In February, 1807 (three months after this decree, and in consequence of its promulgation), the "orders in council" announced the blockade of the whole French dominions, and forbade any neutral vessel from entering a British port if it had touched at any French port, and justified the capture of all French produce; and it further decreed that no British vessel should trade with the enemy, so that all trade with France or her dependencies was henceforth reduced to smuggling.

In the next year was issued the American embargo on foreign trade, and the imports of cotton fell off to the extent of thirty millions of pounds. The orders in council continued in force, notwithstanding petitions against them from London, Manchester, and Hull merchants, till 1812, when the cotton imports again fell off about 28,000,000lbs. In that year, Mr. Brougham (now Lord Brougham) brought evidence before the House of Commons, on the state of trade and the terrible condition of the cotton operatives. Wheat was one hundred and twenty-two shillings and eightpence per quarter, and the food of the people was of the most wretched kind; bread, or even potatoes, said he, are quite out of the question; the luxuries of animal food, or even milk, they had long ceased to think of. So pitiable was the state of the people, that notwithstanding the vindictive feeling against France and her allies, the orders in council were upon these representations immediately repealed.

Bad harvests, war taxes, and an inflated currency, which raised the prices of all articles, except labour, had all contributed to this terrible distress, but the operatives saw principally one cause at work. Improved machinery had enabled one man to vastly increase the produce of his labour, and they concluded that if the machinery was out of the way, there would be more work and more wages for each of them. They did not know that the employment of more hands for the same result would not increase the purchasing power of the public, and that to raise the price of a commodity must needs prevent its sale, and so in their instance, whilst robbing the world of a large amount of clothing, would still leave the workman in the same miserable plight. How could they know these things? The education of the masses was as yet a dangerous doctrine, their only teaching was from the pulpits, and this teaching did not reach one half of the operative classes, and except amongst the dissenting local preachers, the universal tenor was "obedience to the powers that be, for they are of God," whilst want and suffering gave practical proof of the bitterness of the lesson.

In 1811-12 the powers of nature embodied in improved machinery for man's comfort were openly denounced as the cause of, and made the scapegoat for, his sufferings. The riots against machinery commenced at Leicester, where the workmen supposed themselves worse off, because, by the aid of a wide frame, a man could make more stockings in a given time than in a narrow one. As if the farmer who would be well off by the produce of six bags of wheat per acre should be ruined if the same land and the same labour gave him ten bags.

In April, 1812, there was a food riot in Manchester, which was quelled for the moment by an arbitrary arrangement of the authorities to reduce the prices of potatoes from fourteen shillings or fifteen shillings to eight shillings per load. A cart with fourteen loads of meal was stopped at New Cross, and the meal carried away. The cavalry were needed to preserve the peace, and the magistrates had to promise full protection to the farmers to induce them to bring produce to market for sale at all.

In the same month a riot took place at Middleton, where a mill had been erected for weaving by steam, and the object of the mob was to destroy the place. But the proprietors had been forewarned, and armed defenders occupied the building, and when the place was

attacked and the windows broken, the crowd was fired upon, three of them being killed and many more wounded. On the next day, the crowd returned to the charge, being then also armed, but the authorities were awake, and the factory was now defended by soldiers; and the crowd, foiled in their first object, turned to the house of the proprietor, and wreaked their vengeance by setting it on fire. Here they were followed by the military, and five more of their number were killed, and many others wounded. Four days later (24th April), a mob assembled at West Houghton with the declared intention of destroying the power looms which were at work at that place. A troop of soldiers was dispatched thither from Bolton, who, finding all quiet, returned home again, when the mob immediately re-assembled, set fire to, and completely destroyed a large factory. The operatives undoubtedly believed that the increased facilities for the production of wealth by improved machinery were the cause of their poverty, but this belief was, it was shrewdly suspected, made use of by designing persons to enable the government to crush out the new political life which was now rising into being, and struggling for development. However that matter may be, it is certain that the most susceptible prejudice was that against machinery, and that the next assize gave evidence of the fearful amount of passion which had been excited, and of the fearful retribution exacted; for, according to Archibald Prentice, more than twenty persons were sent to the gallows, and one of the poor fellows was so young as to call upon his mother at the scaffold in the vain hope that she could save him from a felon's death.

Amongst employers it was now well settled that the greater the power of production the more valuable the machine, and an improvement was tolerably certain of immediate adoption, the chief care of the inventor being to prevent piracy; but the knowledge of political economy as a science was still to come.

The employers petitioned against the corn law of 1815, upon the plea that its enactment would tend to raise wages, forgetting that if more means were expended on food there would remain less for clothing, and that consequently every addition to the price of corn would lessen the demand for cotton and other manufactures, and throw hands out of employ, and force those remaining at work to accept less instead of demanding more wages for work.

The sons of these men when agitating for the repeal of these same corn laws, from 1839 to 1846, thought it very foolish of the Chartists to declare that "cheap food meant cheap wages," and foolish enough it was, as the theory of political economy shewed, and as events have since demonstrated ; but the working men Chartists were then only dressed in the cast-off clothes of their employers, for their doctrine was a perfect counterpart of that announced by the employers in 1815 ; they were just a generation behind in this respect, and in some other matters not quite so far.

A foreign trade in yarns had sprung up, and it was predicted that evil would arise from the exportation of twist ; the assumption being that if twist was not exported the demand for calico would be increased proportionately, and thus thousands of extra looms be employed. It was forgotten that twist was not given away, but sold for a profit, and that so long as a profitable trade was done it mattered not to the interests of this country whether it was in yarn or cloth, for that if the sum spent by foreigners for yarn was spent on cloth it would simply employ extra weavers at the expense of some of the spinners. And it was also forgotten that to prohibit the export of yarns might possibly result in setting up rival spinners on the Continent instead of bringing extra customers for cloth ; just as at an earlier date at home, Arkwright had been forced into manufacturing by the refusal of employers to purchase his yarns.

The same kind of foolish objections were urged against allowing foreigners, resident in Manchester, to purchase fustians in the grey instead of in the finished state, and it was even feared that some of them might become manufacturers ! What would these old manufacturers think if they could return and look down the long array of German, Greek, and other foreign names which now adorns the list of merchants in the Manchester directory ? How heartily they would laugh at their own former follies, and how glad would they be to see the demonstration that the interests of a nation are not promoted by exclusiveness, but by universal goodwill and fraternity. The foreigners are amongst the most enterprising of our merchants, and, whilst they do not obtrusively interfere with our local or national politics, they are yet found prominent amongst the donors to charitable objects.

We ought to be careful in our condemnation of the conduct of the working classes, and charitable in denouncing their neglect of opportunities for improvement, for so lately as 1825 a meeting of Manchester merchants adopted the following resolution :—"That permanently high prices of corn would be evidently and generally injurious; they would either greatly depreciate the condition of our manufacturing population, or, by *raising the wages of labour,* materially increase the facilities for successful rivalship with our productive industry abroad; and the declining condition of our trade which would then ensue would eventually entail on the agriculturists, in common with every other class of the community, the greatest suffering." Here was still the old fallacy that dear corn meant dear wages, notwithstanding the fact that every bad harvest had, by lessening trade, given the operatives into the hands of the employers at almost any wages which it pleased them to pay. So difficult is it to unlearn an erroneous doctrine, even when demonstrably false.

The years 1823-4-5 were remarkable for heavy speculations, which turning out unprofitable, resulted in the failure of fifty-eight country banks, and of course brought trade to a standstill position, not only in the cotton districts but in all parts of the kingdom. Subscriptions were opened in Lancashire, and food was supplied to the destitute, but the people not understanding the true cause of their distress, again made machinery the scapegoat. In April, 1826, a mob broke the windows of a factory at Accrington, and grossly ill-used the manager when he attempted to speak to them. On the next day, manufacturers returning from Manchester on the coach were received in Blackburn with showers of stones. Five days later (24th April), the mob gained admission to Messrs. Sykes' mill, at Accrington, and destroyed sixty power-looms, and the dressing machine, and also injured the steam engine. They then marched to Rough Hey, and there destroyed twenty looms, and thence to White Ash, where eighty more were demolished. At Blackburn, a similar course was followed, and many looms were destroyed before the arrival of the military, who killed one man and dangerously wounded two others. On the 25th, the soldiers were fortunate enough to save the mills of Messrs. Turner, at Helmshore. On the 26th, two hundred and twenty looms were destroyed at Rawtenstall and Edenfield. A similar act of vandalism

took place at Messrs. Aitken and Lords's, near Ramsbottom, where a collision with the military cost the lives of four men and one woman. Seventy-four looms were destroyed on the same day at Summerseat, and fifty-one cotton and some woollen looms at Bacup. On 26th, a meeting of the unemployed was held in St. George's Field's, Manchester, and the five or six thousand people there present were urged to destroy the power-looms as the cause of their distress; but, at this meeting common sense found an exponent in the person of a working-man, named Hodgins, who told them that the only possible result of such violence would be that they would suffer under the swords of the military, and that not the slightest alteration would be made in the system of which they complained. The parish was bound to support the distressed, and if the officers did not grant assistance, the applicants might appeal to the magistrates, who would order them relief. Till all these legal resources were tried, every attempt to obtain their purpose by other means was illegal. This speech and the announcement by the late A. Prentice, to the effect that the first subscription of eight thousand pounds being exhausted, a new one had been commenced that day, and on the morrow, 20,000lbs. of bacon and 100,000lbs. of meal would be ready for distribution, sufficed to keep the peace, and the greater portion of the crowd returned quietly to their homes.

What they wanted was food, and whilst they believed that the new machinery had robbed them of bread, they were willing to spare even the robber, if the necessary bread was supplied.

In 1829 a money panic, arising from the withdrawal of one pound notes from circulation, had the effect of lessening employment and lowering wages, and of course produced serious discontent, and again the rage against machinery was excited.

On 27th April, all the windows in Messrs. Brocklehurst's factory at Macclesfield were broken. On 29th, a number of weavers at Rochdale, who had turned out against a reduction, went round to those who remained at work and demanded their shuttles, certainly a most effective mode of stopping the looms; and next day the passion assumed what was now the established form, and the machinery in two factories was destroyed. Sixteen of the rioters having been arrested and committed for trial, an attempt at rescue was made and resulted in the deaths of six persons by the military on guard.

At a meeting of hand-loom weavers in Manchester, on 3rd May, it was resolved to request the power-loom weavers to strike rather than submit to a reduction. Next day a mob broke into a mill in Mather-street, turned out the hands, and cut to pieces the warps in the looms; broke the reeds and all else which was easily destructible, and tossed the cloth into the street, through the broken windows. From thence they went to Pollard-street, and destroyed forty-six power-looms and ninety-two dandy-looms (looms turned by a windlass at the end of each.) They then returned to the factory whence they had turned out the hands, and there destroyed fifty-three more looms, knocked out more windows, and tossed warps and webs into the canal. In Ludgate-street they were not satisfied with destroying the power-looms, but having accomplished all possible internal mischief, they then set fire to the building. A troop of soldiers prevented any further destruction, but for two days longer provision shops were sacked, and forced contributions of money and food levied at private houses.

During all the alternations of prosperity and adversity comprised in this short review, the political element had been constantly growing up amongst the working classes. Lancasterian, Church, and British day schools had also begun to work; and although social and political economy formed no part of their instructions, yet they did to thousands of people supply the means which led to self-culture; and any violence against property henceforth perpetrated by great masses of men may safely be credited quite as much to a sense of political inequality and injustice as to the old prejudice against machinery. It is true that amongst the uneducated, and in the trades where machinery has yet to win its way, the old battle will have to be fought over again, as it was in 1835 in Coventry, when steam power was first applied to the weaving of ribbons; and as at present with the brickmaking machine, which promises great economy in the cost of houses, but has yet to fight its way amongst the class which most needs its help. But in the plug riots of 1842, the object was almost wholly political, it was an attempt on the part of the Chartists to stop all work until the legislature should concede the doctrine of universal suffrage in the election of the House of Commons; and those who came to the determination thus to secure a share in law making, sought to impose their wills upon other people by knocking

out the boiler plugs and stopping the machinery. So also in 1848, when the "citizen King" of France fled to England as plain William Smith, and France once more announced herself a Republic, with Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity for motto, the operatives of this country were fired with emulation to put down the "tyrants" at home; and any mischief which was perpetrated against machinery in the riots at that time, is not to be set down to the prejudice against improvements; but is to be looked upon simply as a measure of lynch law, a punishment for crimes which do not appear on the statute book of the realm, but are yet marked in the minds of some working men, who in this way enact the part of judges and executors of their own sentences. Simply a change in the fashion of folly, the reader will say; and this is quite true, for the perpetration of violence seldom if ever answers the good intended, whilst it is always in itself a positive evil, and the fruitful parent of evils to come.

Now that the great mass of the youthful population are able to read, and the penny newspaper can be relied upon for teaching with tolerable fairness and clearness the true causes of the distress which it may be our lot from time to time to suffer; we need no longer fear any general rising against improved machinery, nor any physical force demonstration against a government which must always bow to a strongly expressed and general public opinion.

CHAPTER III.

Comparative Increase of Population, 1801-1861—Increase of Real Property—Manufacturing and Agricultural Hundreds—Classes of the Population—Comparative Increase of Various Classes—Effects of the Excise on Paper—Progress of Manufacture, 1830-1860—Wages in 1844 and 1860—Influences of Factory Life on Physical and Moral Health—Old and Modern Mills—Plurality of Tenure—The Short-time Agitation—Richard Oastler—The Factories Education Act—Manchester Meetings—Comparative Mortality of Large Towns—Infant Mortality in Manchester and Liverpool—Relative Progress of Cotton, Silk, and Woollen Manufactures—Immigration of Silk Operatives—Jealousy of Old Hands—Subsidiary Trades—Relative Progress of the Cotton Industry in England and America—American Tariffs—Yankee 'Cuteness—The French Treaty, 1860—Prejudice at Coventry—Imports of Silk Goods—The Flax Trade—Mr. Bazley on the Cotton Trade—American and Indian Cotton—A Century of Progress—The Wisdom of Figures.

THE importance of the cotton industry will be fully appreciated by the reader when the progress of Lancashire is compared with that of England and Wales during the same period. For the county has no peculiarity other than this industry to account for its greater progress; on the contrary, many counties exceed it in fertility of soil and in healthiness of climate; and it is a very common circumstance for men who have acquired fortunes by trade in Lancashire, to remove and become landed proprietors in the midland or southern counties of England. By these means much of the wealth gained in Lancashire is distributed over the country, so that large as is the excess of progress, it would appear still larger except for this migration.

The progress of population in Lancashire, compared with that of England and Wales at each census since 1801, is exhibited in the following table:—

	Population of Lancashire.	Per Centage of Increase.	Per Centage of Increase in England and Wales.	Excess of Increase in Lancashire.
1801	673,485	—	—	—
1811	828,429	22	14	8
1821	1,052,948	27	18	9
1831	1,336,854	27	16	11
1841	1,667,054	24	14	10
1851	2,031,236	22	13	9
1861	2,429,440	20	12	8

An increase of population is, however, not inconsistent with an increase of pauperism, but a considerable portion of the excess of increase in Lancashire has been by immigration from other counties; and when immigration is considerable it is a very fair proof of prosperity, for operatives only throng where they expect to improve their circumstances. And if we refer to the returns of real property at different periods, our idea of the prosperity of Lancashire will be fully borne out. Here are the returns of the annual value of real property assessed for property tax in England and Wales and in Lancashire respectively from 1815 to 1860:—

	England and Wales.	Lancashire.	Lancashire proportion of total.
1815 . .	£51,790,879 . .	£3,087,774 . .	6·0 per cent.
1843 . .	85,802,735 . .	7,756,228 . .	9·0 ,,
1851 . .	94,809,106 . .	8,640,695 . .	9 1 ,,
1860 . .	112,802,749 . .	11 289,375* . .	10 0 ,,

* This is the valuation for 1865, with the addition of one-eighth to find the gross value; the assessors having taken off one-twelfth from lands and one-sixth from buildings, leaving the nett sum, £10,035,000.

Thus in 1815 Lancashire contributed one-fourteenth of the property tax, in 1851 it contributed one-eleventh, and in 1860 one-tenth, exclusive of the income from railways in each case, for the last four years cannot have added much to the real property of Lancashire.

But the results of the cotton industry will be rendered still more apparent by reference to a table prepared by Mr. Henry Ashworth for a paper read at the Friends' Institute, comparing the progress in the different hundreds of Lancashire itself.

Real Property Assessed for Land Tax in Lancashire at two Periods.

	Annual Value, 1692.	Annual Value, 1865.	Increase of Value.	Rate of Increase.
Hundred of Leyland . .	£5,774	£249,284	£243 510	or 4,317 per cent.
,, Lonsdale . .	8,500	423,967	415,467	,, 4,987 ,,
,, Amounderness	10,288	526,239	515,951	,, 5,115 ,,
,, Blackburn . .	11,131	950,916	939,785	,, 8 542 ,,
,, Salford . . .	25,9 7	4,(84,888	4,058,981	,,15,767 ,,
,, West Derby .	35,642	3,801,585	3,765,943	,,10,666 ,,
	£97,242	£10,036,879	£9,939,637	

Readers who are acquainted with Lancashire will not need to be told that the progress is about in proportion to the area occupied for the purposes of manufacture and commerce in each case; that, in fact, the immense stride made by the Salford hundred is due to the cotton

manufacture, and that of West Derby to the same cause, together with the additional fact that Liverpool is the grand port of entry for the raw material, and for the departure of manufactured goods.

And the character of the demand for labour in Lancashire will be seen by the following table, which compares the distribution of population per thousand, into six classes in England and Wales, and in Lancashire respectively, according to the census of 1861 :—

Ratio of the Population per Thousand, in Six Classes.

	England and Wales.	Lancashire.	Difference.
1. The professional	24	14	10 less.
2. The domestic	569	521	48 less.
3. The commercial	31	44	13 more.
4. The agricultural	100	40	60 less.
5. The industrial	241	351	110 more.
6. The indefinite	35	30	5 less.
	1,000	1,000	

The paucity of the professional class is simply indicative of the fact, that in a dense population more work can be accomplished by one man, than in a district where the same number of persons occupy a larger area.

But the smaller number devoted to domestic occupations, seeing that the dependents on cotton comprise about one-half the population of the county, shows an excessive demand for female labour of at least ten per cent over the average of England and Wales, which demand takes its subjects from home during the whole day; and if the large number of females from other counties, who constitute the domestic servants in the cotton manufacturing towns, could be eliminated, the comparison would be still more telling.

The increase of the commercial class is the natural and inevitable consequence of a large trade; the commercial men are carriers who take the risk of profit and loss; and the capital invested by them in goods, and the intense activity of this class in finding markets and supplying them with produce, has done much to increase the manufacturing industry of Lancashire. But the peculiar condition of the county, and the secret of its great progress, are shown in the small proportion of the population devoted to agriculture, and the larger proportion engaged in industrial occupations. Remembering that the cotton population is only one-half of the county, ten per cent in excess of the whole county, means twenty per cent more in the cotton districts than the general average of the whole

country, devoted to industrial occupation in the peculiar manufacture. It would be wonderful, indeed, if such a fact did not tell upon material progress.

But there is a dark as well as a light side to the picture. The demand for female and juvenile labour leaves very few girls of working age at home, and domestic duties are not learned in youth so as to be made available in married life; and hence results much ignorant extravagance, and consequent domestic unhappiness. Under the domestic class are included three hundred and seventy-six thousand eight hundred and ninety-three scholars, being 15·3 per cent of the population, or 0·4 per cent lower than the average of the whole country, which is equal to double that amount in the manufacturing districts; where the general prosperity ought to make the balance in favour of, instead of against, educational progress.

Bearing in mind that the increase of population in Lancashire from 1851 to 1861 was twenty per cent, the following figures will show in what directions there has been excessive activity, and who have profited most by the last decade of prosperity.

Increase per cent of Various Classes from 1851 to 1861.

Inn and hotelkeepers	28 per cent.
Bricklayers, joiners, &c.	29 ,,
Letterpress printers	37 ,,
Merchants	41 ,,
Brokers	43 ,,
Coal miners	45 ,,
Commercial clerks	49 ,,
Paper makers	50 ,,
Engine and tool makers	50 ,,
Brickmakers	68 ,,
Railway officials	83 ,,
Iron miners	133 ,,
Coachmen in private families	180 ,,
Agents	185 ,,
Iron makers	222 ,,
Gardeners in private families	532 ,,

These figures deserve more than a passing glance. Drunkenness has probably not increased, but the fact that the increase of hotelkeepers has outstripped the growth of population, indicates considerable general prosperity. This prosperity is further evidenced by the progress of the building trades, which have done more than provide for the mere growth of population, for their progress would seem to indicate an extra expenditure of from five to ten per cent on

house and warehouse accommodation during the decade. The extra increase of letterpress printers is doubtless due to the removal of the stamp duty on newspapers and the excise on the manufacture of paper; and it is satisfactory to know that there has been an increase of seventeen per cent above the average in the class who are employed mainly in the diffusion of knowledge; and this fact, taken in connection with the excess of thirty per cent in the increase of papermakers, shows that if this latter class is to be ruined by the French export duty on rags, they have enterprise enough to enable them to fight a good battle, and to die hard. The increase of merchants, brokers, commercial clerks, and railway officials, all show the extra capital invested in trade, the intense activity in the pursuit of wealth, and the greatly increased facilities for commercial intercourse. The engine and tool makers have increased two-and-a-half times as fast as population, so that they must have supplied machinery not only for the increase of population, but have renewed the old machines where the course of improvement required it, and have done also a large export trade; and the iron miners must have produced six times as much metal in Lancashire as they did in the previous decade. But the most singular revelation of these figures is, that five hundred and sixty-eight persons have been added to the list of private coachmen; that on an average one additional man per week has set up a carriage during the ten years from 1851 to 1861; whilst eighty-seven persons each year, or nearly 1·79 every week, have also commenced to keep private gardeners. This is demonstration that, beyond the general prosperity, great wealth has accumulated in the hands of one person in about each two thousand of the population.

The manufacture and export of cotton machinery will tend to reduce the advantages of the home spinner and manufacturer to a minimum in neutral markets, confining it to the skill exhibited in management, and the comparative working power of the operatives at home over those abroad. That foreign spinners and manufacturers do tread pretty closely upon the heels of those at home, is proved by the fact that during the cotton crisis Russian and Swiss yarns and French calicoes, were sold in the Manchester market. The keen competition existing in some branches of the trade is also well illustrated by a circumstance which was brought under the notice of Mr. W. E. Gladstone (the chancellor of the exchequer), during the agitation

for the repeal of the paper duty. A considerable trade is done from Manchester in sewing and darning cottons to America, north and south, to the Levant, and elsewhere. The sewing cottons were formerly exported wound upon wooden reels or bobbins, which usually contained three hundred yards each; but gradually the practice which calls a thirty-four inch cloth a yard wide, obtained to such an extent in sewing cottons, that a reel supposed to contain three hundred yards, was often found to have only one or two layers of cotton upon it, so that in fact wood was sold for cotton. The German spinners wound their cotton upon small cards of pasteboard, so that the purchaser could see at a glance what he got for his money; and the natural consequence was that the English spinner must use pasteboard also, or lose the trade. But pasteboard in England paid an excise of threehalfpence per pound and five per cent additional. Now the card in use, together with the waste in cutting it into shape, weighed nearly as much as the cotton wound upon it; and as the tax was doubled by the profits of the paper maker and the pasteboard maker, the difference between the cost of these cards in England and in Germany was about threepence per pound, or about ten per cent on the selling price of the cotton; and when this cotton got to America, it was subjected to an import duty of twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*, which, reckoned on the cost and consequences of the excise, raised the difference in favour of the German spinner to twelve and a half per cent, and of course gave to him the foreign market. Crochet and darning cottons, packed in pasteboard boxes, suffered in a similar manner; and the export trade of one Manchester house fell off from a hundred thousand gross per annum to nothing.

With perfect freedom of trade, Lancashire has nothing to fear from any competitors, for it is the cradle of enterprise and the home of inventions; it is supplied with cheap iron and coal, and filled with skilful workmen; and can afford to pay the best price for raw cotton, because its perfect machinery reduces the cost of its manipulation to a minimum. But if governments interfere with trade, either by taxing imports, excising manufactures, or encouraging colonies in the imposition of indirect taxation, they disarange the natural order of things, foster unhealthy production, and develop all sorts of obstructions to progress, which nobody could foresee; but which are no sooner established, than they claim the

privilege of vested interests, and however mischievous in practice, cost much labour and expense to get rid of. The agitation for the repeal of the advertisement, the penny stamp, and the paper duties, is probably the cheapest on record; but it cost fourteen years of continuous labour on the part of its promoters, and some four thousand pounds in money contributions.

Mr. David Chadwick gives the following figures as representing the progress of manufacture in thirty years :—

	Yards of cloth produced.	Per cent. of Increase.
1830 . .	914,773,563	
1860 . .	4,431,281,728 . .	Increase, 384 per cent.

And the consumption of cotton was as follows, viz. : in—

1840 . .	528,142,743 lbs.	
1856 . .	891,400,000 „	
1860 . .	1,040,000,000 „ . .	Increase nearly 100 per cent.

The number of spindles employed in Lancashire and Cheshire in 1850 and 1856 is given in the miscellaneous statistics of the government, as follows :—

1850.	1856.
17,099,231	23,619,167

And Mr. Chadwick says the number of spindles required to work up the cotton consumed in 1860 would be about thirty-three millions, turning off about 32lbs. of yarn each on an average for the year. The manufacture of spindles, we are told, proceeds at the rate of three millions per annum; one and a half millions being the increase for home use, half a million for replacement, and a million for export; so that the machinery sent to supply our competitors is two-thirds of the amount of the increase for use at home. Lancashire spinners will need to look to their laurels if they mean to remain victors in neutral markets.

The improvements of twenty years in various departments, as measured by increased production and increased economy, are given by Mr. Chadwick as follows :—

	Per centage. Increase of production.	Per centage. Saving of labour.
In willowing and blowing machines .	20 to 25 . .	. 20
In carding machines	20 to 25 . .	. 20
In drawing frames	20 to 25 . .	. 50
In slubbing and roving . . .	20 to 25 . .	40 to 45
In spinning and doubling, by increase in size . . .	100 . .	. 40
In looms	25 . .	. 50

It is estimated that thirty millions of spindles in 1860 would turn off as much work as thirty-seven millions would have done in 1840, so that whilst the increase in spindles has been seventy-six per cent, the increase in production has been one hundred and nineteen per cent; and instead of these improvements displacing operatives, as the prejudices of the people led them to suppose they would do, the manufacturers have had from time to time to import thousands of families from the agricultural districts for the sake of their juvenile labourers; and wages, instead of depreciating, have advanced between the years 1844 and 1860 from ten to twenty per cent, whilst the hours of labour have been materially shortened. The rates, as given by Mr. Chadwick, are exhibited in the following table:—

	1844. Per week of 72 hours.	1860. Per week of 60 hours.
Wages of willow tenter	8s. 0d.	9s. 0d.
Lap machine tenter	12s. 0d.	14s. to 17s.
Card strippers and grinders	12s. 0d.	18s. to 20s.
Drawing-frame tenter	9s. 0d.	11s. 0d.
Slubbing-frame tenter	9s. 0d.	11s. 6d.
Roving-frame tenter	9s. 0d.	11s. 6d.
Spinner	23s. 6d.	29s. 0d.
Piecer	12s. 0d.	13s 0d.
Juvenile piecer	6s. 6d.	9s. 0d.

These were the average wages at the two periods named, but Mr. Henry Ashworth, late the president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, makes the following statement:—Prior to 1842 an operative spinner earned four shillings and sevenpence for spinning 20lbs. of No. 70's yarn off a mule of four hundred spindles. In 1859 the wage for the same quantity of 70's yarn was three shillings and elevenpence-farthing. But in the former year the nett earnings of the spinner were twenty shillings per week, whilst in the latter they were thirty shillings and tenpence. The increased size of the mules, and the increased speed at which they were worked, produced a so much larger quantity as to account for the difference. So that, almost without effort on his own part, often even in spite of his opposition to improved machinery, the genius of invention and the capital of the employer, had forced upon the fine spinner a fifty per cent rise in his weekly income; forcing him at the same time also to contribute to the enjoyments of the civilised world, by a considerable reduction in the prices

of tasteful garments. The reduced cost of the production of a week, as compared with the cost of the same quantity prior to 1842, was twenty-three shillings and tenpence; of which sum the operative got ten shillings and tenpence, leaving thirteen shillings for extra assistance to the spinner, interest on the extra capital invested, and for reductions in price to the consumer.

A good idea of the rate of improvement in spinning is given by the late J. Kennedy, of Manchester, and exhibits the progress in speed resulting from the approach to mechanical perfection :—

Hanks spun per spindle per day.

	1812.	1830.	1858.
Yarn No. 40's	2 0	2·75	2·75

Cost of labour per lb. at three periods.

	1812.	1830.	1858.
Yarn No. 40's	1s.	7½d.	5d.

It is thus evident that speed had almost reached the maximum consistent with safety in 1830, since which period the extra production per hand, is chiefly due to the increased size of the machines.

In connection with the particulars above recited, it will be interesting to show the proportion of men, women, and children, usually employed in a mill which does both spinning and weaving; and for the following tables we are indebted to Mr. D. Chadwick :—

Class of work.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Stokers, engineers, lodge keepers, warehousemen, machinists, and porters	20	2	5	0	27
Cotton mixing and blowing	7	0	1	0	8
Carding and preparing	17	36	4	15	72
Self-acting mule spinning	24	0	10	1	35
Throstle spinning, winding, and warping	7	39	12	11	69
Power-loom weaving	10	173	0	92	275
Beaming, twisting, and sizing	10	1	1	2	14
	95	251	33	121	500
The per centage of each class being	19	50·2	6·6	24·2	

And the average total wages throughout the whole of the departments, weekly, was in 1859, as follows :—

95 Men.	251 Women.	33 Boys.	121 Girls.	Total, 500 persons.
£87. 17s. 6d	£127. 11s. 10d.	£11. 11s. 0d.	£30. 5s. 0d.	£257. 5s. 4d.

The average individual wages being—for men, eighteen shillings and sixpence; women, ten shillings and twopence; boys, seven shillings; and girls, five shillings: making a general average of ten shillings and threepence-halfpenny for each person per week.

Much has been written at various times about the unhealthiness and immorality of factory life, and there was doubtless considerable truth in the first part of the charge as applied to the system of work pursued thirty or forty years ago; for some of the old mills are far from pleasant places to work in even now, after all the improvements of a generation and a half of the greatest activity which the world ever saw. Low ceilings, rooms inconveniently crowded with machinery, so as to prevent proper cleanliness; an atmosphere of from seventy to a hundred degrees, saturated with the vapour of oil, and tinctured with the results of metallic friction, can never be particularly healthful; and if, therefore, we look back to a time when there was no government inspection, when the shafting of machinery was unfenced, and it was common to work fourteen or fifteen hours per day, and not unfrequently all night, as well as all day, we shall have no difficulty in admitting the unhealthiness of the occupation. With regard to the second part of the charge, which asserts that factory life is immoral, it is clear that the conduct of workpeople, in factories and elsewhere, will always depend very much upon that of their superintendents and overlookers. There is no necessary connection between immoral conduct and the working of a hundred persons in the same room; on the contrary, if the superiors set a proper tone, there is a sort of semi-public opinion, which is quite as operative, if not quite as powerful, as that which in a nation restrains a government from wrong-doing. But if we look back to the time when popular education had not commenced, and remember that youthful workhouse inmates from every part of the country were sent to be apprenticed in Lancashire; it may readily be admitted that the passions of ignorant overlookers, operating upon workhouse material before the establishment of union schools, would often produce cases of cruelty; and that orphans, whose legal guardians were poor-law officials, situate fifty or a hundred miles away, would, in the absence of proper supervision, out of the factory as well as within its walls, not unfrequently fall into immoral courses.

But it is not the interest of an employer to occupy an unhealthy

mill, for the lowered vitality of his workpeople would lessen their production and his profit. A substantially-built mill, with plenty of room and light, and the best machinery, is as profitable to the master as it is agreeable to the workman, for whatever keeps the workman healthy and cheerful enables him to give more attention to his occupation, and to turn off more and better work. Indeed, men often care more about being employed in a good mill than about the exact price per pound for spinning, or per piece for weaving, for they know practically what is the effect of each condition upon the weekly wage. A fair estimate of the improvement in mills may be formed by a comparison of the insurance rates upon the two classes; for the elements which measure the exposure to fire, such as crowded machinery, low ceilings, &c., are also the elements which are injurious to health. The old mills are charged about fifty per cent more than those which have been built since 1860, and which conform to the best model.

The old mills in towns are now, for the most part, occupied under plurality of tenure; each occupant of a room having just risen to the dignity of an employer, and making up by his own personal work and strict supervision for the smallness of his capital, the age of his machinery, and for other serious disadvantages. It is common to see an announcement on the outside of an old mill to this effect, "a room to let with power." The steam engine is the property of the landlord, who engages and pays the engineer, and charges in the rent to each occupier of a room for its services, as well as for fuel, wear and tear, &c. We lately looked through one of these old mills, and found on the ground floor and in the basement, two machine-making firms; on the first floor up stairs a wood turner and a sewing machine-maker; on the second floor a braid manufacturer and a coach lace manufacturer; and in a shed at the back a coffee roaster. One steam engine turned the shafting for the whole of the tenants; but apart from this peculiar dependence, each man was as much master in his own place as if he occupied the whole of the mill. The engines in these old mills are like horses, which, when no longer suited for the purposes of their first owners, come to do hack work for the public; they are as useful as ever, and afford the great convenience of their help to people who, a short time before, never thought of being able to command them. The man who used to sweat the day through at a foot

lathe now puts a strap upon the shaft of his lathe, and has nine-tenths of his work done by a dumb servant; the owner of half a dozen galloon or fringe looms gets a shaft run through his shop, a drum and crank attached to each loom, and occupies a floor, or half a floor, in an old mill, and dispenses with what was formerly the principal work of the weaver; and by and bye, if things go well with him, he will build a place suited to his growing wants, and leave the old room to the next aspirant for mastership.

To a stranger, the temperature and peculiar odour of a cotton mill or weaving shed are very disagreeable and oppressive, and the noise of the machinery distracting; but when once inside, if the place be kept clean and well ventilated, the feeling of oppressiveness is soon lost; and it is quite evident, from the conversation of the hands, that a proper pitch of the voice overcomes the incessant noise of the machinery. The carding and blowing rooms used to be very unpleasant workshops, but late improvements have effected wonders even here. They are no longer full of small fibres of cotton, which, floating in the atmosphere, filled the nostrils and entered the mouth at every inspiration. This cotton dust is now, by means of a metallic tube, with a revolving fan to create a strong current of air, carried into the outer atmosphere, and entirely dissipated.

We have stated that it was a common practice in former years to work mills fourteen or fifteen hours daily; and frequently, during busy times, with relays of hands, all night as well as all day. This practice, which depreciated health and caused many accidents, when fatigue prevented the vigilance necessary to avoid contact with unfenced shafting, led philanthropists and working men into an agitation for a restriction of hours by legislative enactment. It is undoubtedly bad policy to restrict a trade by the imposition of customs or excise; but a government would neglect its highest duty if it did not interfere in any case where helpless women and children are being sacrificed, and the race depreciated by enforced and prolonged toil. If any sensible man be asked whether children of six, seven, or eight years of age, ought to be kept at work in a close room for fourteen or fifteen hours per day, where the utmost vigilance is required to escape injury from the machinery; or whether it is wise to keep pregnant and delicate women so long upon their feet, there can be no hesitation as to his reply; but it is one of the conditions inseparable from organised working in masses, that the system is

deranged, and mischief results from the least irregularity. System could take no account of tender years or of delicate health; the engine was there, the machines were there, the material was there, and the produce was in demand; once enrolled upon the staff, therefore, the operative—man, woman, or child—must attend from the starting to the stopping of the engine. Here was a difficult position, the evil inflicted was patent, but how could it be dealt with? Man is his own master and able to take care of himself, but women and children are under the control of men, and the prospect of gain is so alluring, and the approach of danger from overwork is so gradual and imperceptible, as to render disinterested oversight desirable, in order to prevent the abuse of power to the injury of society.

Long was the struggle for the Ten Hours Bill, and bitter the opposition of many of the manufacturers; nor was their opposition at all to be wondered at. The trade was hardly yet free from government impositions upon the raw material and the printed cloth; foreign competitors were coming into the market, and here was a proposal to lessen the value of the investments in mills and machinery, by lessening their annual production. Could trade never be let alone? If men did not like to send their wives and children to work they might keep them away, but what had the government to do with it? Surely grown men were the best judges of the interests of their own families, and the masters wanted no government spies about their premises. But many of the working men were like drunkards, who would be very glad to have the Maine Law to keep drink out of their reach, but who cannot resist the temptation whilst they can procure it; and the leaders of the working men were for the most part thoroughly disinterested and in earnest in the work. They were not cotton operatives alone, but men connected with various trades, who spent their days at work, and their nights in agitation. They kept up a regular organisation, and sent out, principally from their own body, honorary lecturers and deputations to public meetings, composed of men who would frequently, after a day in the workshop, walk ten or twelve miles out and home to attend a short-time bill meeting. Tens of thousands of pamphlets were issued, and every session saw heaps of petitions to parliament, with memorials and deputations to the executive government. And the operatives were not entirely

without help from the middle and upper classes. Subscriptions were raised in various parts of the country, and amongst all classes, in aid of the expenses.

The late Richard Oastler threw himself so thoroughly into the movement that he was familiarly called "The factory king," and portraits of him, with a factory child between his knees, adorned the cottage walls of thousands of operatives. He travelled throughout the manufacturing districts, and his handsome figure and powerful oratory rendered him a general favourite. The Earl of Shaftesbury, then known as Lord Ashley, also took up the cause, and attended many meetings, and fought out the battle manfully in parliament. His lordship is long used to shaking hands with labour, but never was he more heartily received than in Lancashire during this agitation.

The late John Fielden, M.P., and the late Joseph Brotherton, M.P., were the only manufacturers, so far as we know, who joined the working men in favour of the short time bill; but they, who had both been operatives themselves, worked hard both in and out of parliament, from the commencement of the agitation to its close.

Of course, there were some opponents amongst the working class—a few vigorous-minded men who feared that if the government once set its foot inside the mill, its interference would be a growing evil; and others whose greediness for gain overcame every other feeling; and a third class who forgot their own manhood and the true interests of their wives and children, in obsequiousness to the masters. There were also among the working men violent partizans, with whom the opposition of the masters would be a sufficient reason to secure their support for any proposition. These men demanded that it should be made a crime to run the engines for more than ten hours per day, which requirement, if adopted, would have limited the possible production of the country, and have been a practical bounty to foreign manufacturers, who were subject to no such restriction. But the great majority of workmen felt themselves victims of a system to which they contributed by their labour, but which they could not control, and they asked parliament to take away their power of self-destruction.

The legislature in this, its first concession to the agitation of working men, judged wisely; and whilst restricting the labour of women to ten hours, and of children under thirteen years of age to

five hours per day, left the men to take care of themselves, and the employers to run their mills as long as they chose; provided the extra hours were due to the labour of up-grown men alone. And the government, having got inside the mills, did not rest satisfied; but their interference has not been an unmixed evil: they obliged the shafting, wherever dangerous, to be fenced off, so as to prevent accidents, and have thereby saved many lives. The late Sir James Graham, whilst secretary of state for the home department, brought in and carried a bill to oblige every factory master, who employed children under thirteen years of age, to provide for their instruction during the half days when they were not at work. This bill was also fiercely contested by the manufacturers, aided by supporters of the doctrine that education is the business of the parent, and ought to be the result of voluntary effort alone.

A town's meeting was called in Manchester during the mayoralty of the late James Kershaw, M.P., to oppose it, but resulted in the adoption of an amendment in favour of the bill. A second meeting was tried in the Free Trade Hall, under the presidency of W. R. Callender, alderman; and was addressed by Revs. Dr. Halley and Dr. Massey. When the author rose to move an amendment in favour of the bill, a scene of the most indescribable confusion ensued, and the meeting broke up without any definite result. And now that the Short-time Bill, and the Factories Education Bill have been acts of parliament for upwards of twenty years, their promoters may fearlessly appeal to their former opponents for a favourable verdict as to the results of both measures. Indeed, it will now be very generally conceded, that if it would please parliament to generalise the Factories Education Act, so as to make it cover all employments where children are engaged, and to subject the teachers of all factory schools to an examination to prove their fitness for the task of teaching, they would confer a very great boon upon the country. The reports of the factory inspectors show that where the spirit of the education act has been observed, the results have been most gratifying; and that the educational progress of the half-timers does not differ very much from that of the whole-day attendants at school; whilst manufacturers bear witness that children who have passed through well-conducted factory schools, are generally better-conducted workmen than the hands who are casually picked up.

In the modern mills light and cleanliness are prominent features; the rooms are lofty and well ventilated, and are kept well lime-washed; the floors, in consequence of the small overflow of oil being trodden in by the bare feet or slippers of the workers, look like polished oak; whilst the pride of the engineer keeps his engine burnished as if it was a drawing room toy. Not unfrequently a bath is provided, into which the waste water from the engine is turned, so as to supply a hot bath at any time for the health or convenience of the workpeople. Ovens are also frequently attached to the furnaces, so that workers who come from a distance may enjoy the luxury of a hot dinner without loss of time, and a room is commonly set apart for the convenience of dining. In some instances, the dining room or the factory schoolroom is occupied in the evening by mutual instruction classes, and in some large establishments the proprietors patronise co-operative stores, which are established and managed by the workpeople, and thus cultivate the good feeling of their hands by substantially promoting their material interests. These features are well worthy of imitation, for they cost the employers very little except goodwill, but they prove to the workmen that their masters have a care for them beyond their weekly work and wages.

The visitor to a modern mill will not remark any peculiarly-unhealthful appearance amongst the operatives. They are paler in complexion than outdoor labourers, and not so muscular in build, and their clothing is necessarily adapted to the temperature in which they work; but the bills of mortality do not compare unfavourably with other districts, and serve to demonstrate that the labour is not unhealthful; and it is not uncommon in the rooms which are principally occupied by females to find enjoyment in the midst of work, and the noise of the machinery overpowered by the singing of a favourite hymn or a popular ballad. Indeed, the popularity of factory employment is so great that domestic service is at a discount, and the bulk of the domestic servants in the cotton districts are immigrants. Wages for female domestics vary from eight pounds to twenty pounds per annum, and good servants are difficult to procure at these prices. Even these wages, and the presents by which they are often accompanied, fail to tempt girls from the associations of factory life, with its evenings of freedom for visits and gossip; and this popularity of the factory is probably the best reply to persons who think that factory work is unhealthy.

That there is great mortality in large towns we know from Dr. Farr, of the General Register Office, who, in his supplementary volume on the mortality of England and Wales, from 1851 to 1860, says:—"In the ten years, 1851-60, the deaths in thirty large towns in England, with an aggregate mean population of 2,541,630, comprising seven London districts and the principal provincial town districts, averaged 71,194 a year, while the average, according to the rate in healthy districts would have been only 38,459—an annual loss of above 32,000 lives in much less than a seventh of the population." But this mortality is not peculiar to the cotton districts, but seems to occur generally in densely populated places. "If the mortality of all England be arranged in five great groups, the following result appears:—where the mortality was 14, 15, or 16 per 1000 living, the population was only 86 to the square mile; where the mortality was 17, 18, or 19 per 1000, the population was 172 to the square mile; where the mortality was 20, 21, or 22 per 1000, the population was 255 to the square mile; where the mortality was 23, 24, or 25 per 1000, the population was 1,128 to the square mile; and where the mortality was 26 and upwards per 1000, the population was 3,399 to the square mile." Yet, says Dr. Farr, if an adequate water supply and sufficient arrangements for draining and cleansing be secured, the evils which make dense districts so fatal may be mitigated, and he instances the fact, that Bermondsey is much less densely populated than St. James's, Westminster, and yet that the mortality of Bermondsey is considerably greater. So the Westminster districts of St. John's and St. Margaret's have only an equal density with St. George's, Hanover Square, but the mortality in the former is far heavier than in the latter. It is clear, therefore, that other circumstances besides mere density of population contribute to this heavy mortality, and Dr. Farr remarks that "at 45 to 55 years of age, the mortality of London men is not far from double that of men at the same age in the healthy districts of the country." The mortality of men in London is much higher at every age than that of women, and he speculates that ill-ventilated workshops may have something to do with this, and so may indulgence in spirits and other stimulants. But we learn that the workmen in all large towns suffer as much as and often more than the workmen of London, and that from 25 to 55 years of age, the workmen of Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne

die at a still greater rate than the workmen of London. Here again, although the mortality is fearfully great, and ought to excite prominent and careful attention, we learn that it is not peculiar to the cotton districts. But in infant mortality, whatever the cotton districts as a whole may show, Manchester and Liverpool ought to blush for shame, and to seek for speedy improvement. In the ten years, 1851-60, the mean annual mortality amongst infants under five years of age was 10·149 per cent in the city of London, east division; 10·219 in Nottingham; 10·852 in St. Giles'; 11·725 in Manchester district; and 13·198 in Liverpool district; whilst in the more healthy districts of England the mortality was but little over four per cent; and amongst the children of the clergy a little over three; and amongst the children of Peers a little over two per cent. Let us hope that the lessons of domestic cleanliness, of thrift, and of ingenuity lately taught in the sewing schools, may realize, as one of the indirect blessings of the cotton famine, a saving of infant life, resulting from improved sewing and cooking, from a higher moral tone, and from the increased means left at command for other comforts.

The census returns enable us to exhibit the textile industry of Lancashire in the three branches of cotton and flax, woollen and worsted, and silk, as they existed in 1861.

Persons Employed upon Textile Fabrics in Lancashire, 1861.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Cotton and flax . .	173,008	210,666	383,674
Silk	9,923	16,699	26,622
Woollen and Worsted .	9,402	6,424	15,826
	192,333	233,789	426,122

Assuming the moderate estimate that each of these workers represents an average of two-and-a-half persons, then 1,065,305 individuals are directly dependent upon these occupations in Lancashire. The returns of the Central Relief Committee account for 535,750 cotton operatives, but the cotton districts include parts of Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, and the returns probably include the subsidiary trades, such as dyers, calico printers, &c. The census returns enable us also to compare the relative progress of these three branches of trade in the ten years ending 1861.

NUMBER OF HANDS ENGAGED IN COTTON, SILK, AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE, AT TWO PERIODS.

Manufacture of	1851.	1861.	Increase.	Decrease.
Cotton . .	287,076	356,191	24 per cent	—
Silk . .	29,793	25,421	—	14 per cent
Woollen .	10,999	12,074	10 per cent	—

Thus, whilst the cotton manufacture increased rapidly, and woollen moderately, the manufacture of silk seriously declined. A series of failures in the silk crop, together with political troubles in India, China, and Italy, sufficiently account for this decline, and it is not wonderful that the silk manufacturing districts of Warwickshire should have sent flocks of immigrants into the cotton factories of Lancashire in 1859-60. The delicate and trained hands of the ribbon weavers would be a great gain as compared with the raw juvenile labour from the agricultural districts, for the ribbon weavers would have only one difficulty to surmount in order to become first-class cotton operatives. The speed of the machinery (120 picks or crossings of the shuttle per minute) would "mither" them, and the excessive noise would make them "mazy." But the employers had another difficulty to cope with. The cotton operatives are excessively jealous of strangers, and generally harbour the suspicion that the introduction of new hands is a preparatory movement to a reduction in wages, and they don't hesitate to "send the intruders to Coventry;" whilst some of the less scrupulous will not be satisfied by imposing this worst of all solitudes (silence in the midst of company), but will get up all sorts of petty annoyances and practical jokes, until many of the poor fellows feel that they would rather return and starve at home than be persecuted to death elsewhere. To such an extent did this feeling of jealousy go in 1859-60, that employers who needed fifty or a hundred extra hands were obliged to introduce them stealthily, one or two at a time, in order to avoid a general turn out. The policy of the established weavers is to try to manage more looms by means of helpers found and paid by themselves, instead of admitting additional regular workmen; but this course does not suit the manufacturer, because it often results in a worse quality of cloth.

But some thousands of the former wanderers through the green lanes and rich woods of Warwickshire, are now located in the stony valley of Rossendale, or on the bleak hill sides of East Lancashire, having exchanged the call of fickle fashion for the more certain, regular, and substantial cotton manufacture.

The tendency of the cotton trade seems to be towards an increase of female employment, for the ratio from 1851 to 1861 increased to the extent of forty-four in every thousand; the proportion of females in 1851 being five hundred and twenty-five, and in 1861, five hundred and sixty-nine in a thousand hands; and it is probable that the cotton famine, by driving a large number of men to out-door employment, will have further increased this proportion.

In addition to the persons employed directly in the manufacture of cotton goods, there are upwards of twelve thousand persons engaged in dyeing and calico printing; and a further subsidiary list is given by the census as follows:—

Packers of cotton goods	1,568
Warehousemen	2,126
Cotton and calico dealers	651
Cotton waste dealers	388
Porters	1,977
Bleachers	930
	7,640

There is also a remnant of hand-loom weavers still existing, mostly of Irish origin, and engaged in weaving checks, ginghams, and fancy dresses, and numbering about fifteen hundred persons. They occupy attics and cellars, principally in the vicinity of Rochdale Road, Manchester, and earn when in full work seven or eight shillings per week, but they vibrate between the employers' warehouses and the Poor-law Union Offices continually.

The Reports of the Factory Inspectors give the number of cotton factories, the number of spindles, and the amount of the moving power existing in 1860, and we have added the same information for 1850, so as to show at a glance the progress of ten years.

Cotton Factories, Spindles, Looms, and Moving Power, in Lancashire, at Two Periods.

	1850.	1860.	Increase.
No. of factories	1,235	1,979	60 per cent.
No. of spindles	13,955,497	21,530,523	54 ,,
No of power-looms	176,947	306,423	73 ,,
Power in horses	50,286	205,827	300 ,,

It will be interesting to compare the progress of the cotton manufacture in England and America. To America we have been indebted for the bulk of our raw cotton for a long period prior to

the civil war in that country; and America has been a good customer to us for cloth produced from the cotton sent to us in a raw state. Why should not they have worked up for themselves all which they needed, instead of sending it six thousand miles out and home to be manufactured? They have tried but have not yet succeeded. Their manufacture commenced about 1810, so that practically we had about thirty years start of them. In 1862 the number of spindles employed in America was—

In New York and the New England States . . .	4,820,958
In the Western States	50,000
In the Southern States	164,000
	5,034,958

The English manufacture is, therefore, six times as large as the American, and this progress has been assisted by a large export trade to America, in the face of a tariff of twenty-five per cent. It is, therefore, clear that there is occupation in America which pays better than the manufacture of cotton, even with the power to charge thirty or forty per cent more than the natural price of the articles produced, and the secret is not difficult to fathom. America grows corn in her Western States almost without labour, and in such profusion that it is sometimes used for fuel on the railways, whilst in England it is worth from thirty-eight shillings to fifty shillings per quarter. The English demand for corn makes it a more profitable crop to the Western States of North America than manufacturing can ever be, and England can only pay for corn in manufactures or in gold; and if she pays in gold she must first pay for the gold with manufactured goods. It is, therefore, of little consequence whether the English merchant first does a trade for gold and a second trade for corn, or the American merchant first trades for manufactures and then for gold, the result is the same—American corn reaches England and English manufactures reach America, to the mutual benefit of both nations. And if the American tariff was removed this exchange would be much larger, because all which is now paid for tariff charges, and all which American manufacturers are now enabled, in consequence of the tariff, to charge extra upon their own productions, would remain in hand for the purchase of extra quantities of goods, which would create a demand in England for extra corn. And the war or Morrill tariff of seventy per cent is simply leave given to the

American manufacturers to charge eighty or ninety per cent more for their goods than they are worth, for the sake of collecting a small revenue upon imports. The American people are, therefore, taxed upon cotton goods, first, by the government, upon imports, for the purposes of the nation; and then by the manufacturers for their own purposes, in the proportion of the home production to the imports. Yankees are generally supposed to be pretty cute: how long will they thus bolster up a manufacture, the measure of whose prosperity is also a measure of the adversity of other employments, upon whose vitals it lives and fattens? With such an amount of protection it will cause no surprise that in November, 1862, all available hands at Lowell were fully employed, and the savings bank deposits larger than ever, whilst hundreds of thousands of operatives in Lancashire were out of employ; for the war had created an extra demand in America, whilst imports were virtually prohibited.

And when the time comes, as come it must, when either by abolition of the tariff, or by increased home competition, this protection ceases, there will be a season of distress and suffering amongst the manufacturing population of North America which must be experienced in order to be fully understood.

The following table will shew the condition of the silk trade in Lancashire at three periods, and will sufficiently illustrate the uncertainty of employment in that department of industry.

Hands Employed in the Silk Mills of Lancashire at Three Periods.

	Spinning.	Weaving.	Spinning and Weaving.	Other hands.	Total.
1850 . .	2,887	1,647	3,538	136	8,208
1856 . .	1,332	4,865	4,361	—	10,558
1861 . .	2,943	5,277	593	118	8,931

From these figures it is evident that in the first period there was a large increase of silk weaving, concurrently with a considerable decrease in spinning. In the second period of five years, the mills which combined both processes have nearly disappeared, but without any corresponding increase in the mills which are devoted to the separate processes. The number of hands employed had in 1861 fallen in five years back almost to the position of 1850. Opponents of free trade set down this great depression to the operation of the French Treaty of 1860, negotiated by the late R. Cobden, M.P., which abrogated all import duties on French manufactures;

but unfortunately for this theory, the silk trade was almost as depressed in France as in England. It is true that the accumulated stock of the French factories, being only subject to the cost of freight, was sent over in large quantities to try the new market, and was sold as old stock often is at ruinously low prices; but the later imports have been considerably less in quantity, whilst successive failures of the silk crop and the political troubles of the silk-producing countries, sufficiently account for the depression of the trade. The great increase of alpaca wool and the enterprise of the Yorkshire manufacturers have also supplied a light, cheap, and beautifully glossy substitute, for the satins and lutestrings, whose prices, notwithstanding the depression of trade, have ruled too high for the wear of ordinary people. But the French treaty has been the scapegoat in the silk trade, as improved machinery was formerly amongst cotton operatives, for the troubles of the people; and this prejudice was so strong in Coventry, that at the death of the late Right Honourable E. Ellice, who had sat in parliament for the borough for nearly forty years, he was replaced by a man who had been rejected at three or four previous elections, who avows himself a thorough protectionist, and whose speeches at the election were chiefly remarkable for boasting his possession of a talking parrot, whose vocabulary enabled it to "damn the Whigs;" and the more recent death of Sir Joseph Paxton has added another of the same school of politicians to the legislature, for the same borough. Probably the constituents of these gentlemen would hardly agree with them to re-enact a law to pay the farmer eight or ten shillings more than is necessary for his corn, or to make any of the foreign-grown luxuries which now enter into the enjoyments of the common people dearer, by the imposition or increase of customs' duties; they would only prevent us from purchasing cheap ribbons from the French and the Swiss manufacturers; perfectly unconscious that if other constituencies followed in the same course, their command of the market for ribbons would not benefit them, because any extra price secured would be absorbed in the extra cost of other protected articles to the general injury of the whole country. But whatever has been the effect of the French Treaty upon the silk trade in general, it is clear from the Trade and Navigation Returns, that the Coventry people cried out before they were hurt. The imports of ribbons have been as follow:—

IMPORTS OF RIBBONS DURING FIVE YEARS.

1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
530,795 lbs.	854,223 lbs.	525,095 lbs.	566,618 lbs.	544,151 lbs.

So that after the first effort, which cleared out the accumulated stock of years, and which accounts for the fact that bonnet ribbons of French manufacture were bought retail at about the price of raw silk, the imports fell back to their old mark, and have since advanced only about three per cent.

If anybody complained, it should be the broad silk weavers of Spitalfields, for the imports in their class of goods have largely increased, as the following return will prove :—

IMPORTS OF BROAD SILKS.

1860.	1861.	1862.	1863	1864
539,947 lbs.	1,140,267 lbs.	1,475,715 lbs.	1,504,848 lbs.	1,812,588 lbs.

But the public will certainly not complain that the French Treaty has lowered the prices of silk dresses ; nor will the silk throwsters complain that they have been enabled to export an increased quantity of their productions. The total exports of home thrown silk have been as follow :—

EXPORT OF BRITISH THROWN SILK.

1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
435,818 lbs.	538,954 lbs.	647,109 lbs.	461,770 lbs.	468,591 lbs.

EXPORTS OF SILK TWIST AND YARN.

461,584 lbs.	452,723 lbs.	620,401 lbs.	462,308 lbs.	522,953 lbs.

An effort was evidently made on both sides of the channel, to test the effects of the Treaty of 1860, and it results in a small increase in the silk trade in both directions, except in broad silks, where it is evidently our interest to purchase from France rather than manufacture; but after the reductions yet to be made in the French Tariff, the tide will be more in favour of the English producers.

There are one hundred and one woollen factories in Lancashire, situate principally on the borders of Yorkshire, and the progress of ten years is exhibited in the following table :—

HANDS EMPLOYED IN WOOLLEN FACTORIES AT THREE PERIODS.

1850	8,816
1856	9,409
1861	9,227

So far as Lancashire is concerned, therefore, the woollen trade made very little progress in the decade ending with 1861, and even receded during the last five years of that time, and its condition prevents any surprise at the removal of the flannel market during

the past year (1864) from Rochdale to Halifax. Trade in all the great textile fabrics appears to sympathise with the centralization principle; as the retail dealer in any given article, instead of looking for a spot where no shop in his trade exists, looks rather for a place where tradesmen of the same class throng, so that he may at once share the casual custom; so the manufacturer who is nearest to the central market seems to stand the best chance of success. Perhaps the electric telegraph, by rendering the transmission of orders and consultations with principals independent of distance, has somewhat lessened this advantage; but promptitude of delivery is most important, and railways, however useful and well-managed, are not independent of time in their operations.

It will be noted that the number of hands engaged in the woollen mills does not agree with a former table, giving the numbers engaged in the woollen trade; and the explanation is that the woollen trade to a much greater extent than the cotton manufacture, is a domestic occupation, and the two thousand eight hundred and forty-seven persons who do not appear in the mill returns are, doubtless, employed at home. During the cotton famine many cotton looms have been employed for the manufacture of Orleans, Cobourg, and other worsted fabrics, which are made of cotton warps with worsted weft; and it is probable that this trade will become permanently located in Lancashire, so that the next census may tell a different tale as to progress, and Manchester may become a market for what are familiarly called Bradford goods. This course would be very convenient for Manchester merchants, many of whom find it profitable at present to keep warehouses in Bradford as well as in Manchester.

The flax manufacture has never quite lost its hold on Lancashire, although cotton has succeeded in supplanting it for almost all ordinary purposes. During the cotton crisis it has, doubtless, raised its head again, and done good service at a time of utmost need. In 1861 the position of the trade was as follows:—

Flax Mills in Lancashire, 1861.

	Factories.	Spindles.	Horse power.	Hands.
Spinning	8	108,120	1,430	2,645
Weaving	1	—	16	55
Spinning and weaving .	4	9,292	350	681
	13	117,412	1,796	3,381

The rapid progress of population and of production, accompanied by a substantial increase of wages, will lead naturally to the inference that in ordinary times pauperism must be very low, and this inference is quite borne out by experience. The cost of relieving the poor throughout England and Wales is equal to a poll tax of five shillings and ninepence halfpenny per annum on the whole population, but in Lancashire it is equal to three shillings and sixpence only. The assessment for poor rate throughout England and Wales is equal to one shilling and eightpence in the pound, whilst in Lancashire it is only one shilling and threepence, and in some of the most distressed districts it was from tenpence to one shilling and twopence in 1861, which, so far as employment was concerned, was a fair average year.

Mr. Thomas Bazley, M.P., formerly chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, says, in a paper read in 1862 at the Society of Arts, "The last year of full occupation for the cotton trade was 1860. The number of spindles then employed was about thirty-two millions, and the number of looms employed would be about three hundred and forty thousand. The production in the machine-making trade had doubled within ten years. Bleach works, print works, and dye works, had been largely extended during the same period. The fixed investments, including the value of land and rights to water, amounted to not less than sixty millions sterling, to which must be added a working capital of twenty millions; add to these again the value of merchants and tradesmen's stocks at home and abroad, the value of raw cotton and subsidiary materials, and of bankers' capital, and the grand total of capital employed in the trade will not be less than two hundred millions sterling.

In 1860 the total consumption of cotton in the United Kingdom was two millions five hundred and twenty-three thousand two hundred bags, consisting of—

41,094	bags weekly	of American, or	. . .	85	per cent of the whole.
3,968	,,	Egyptian or Brazilian, or		8	,, ,, .
3,461	,,	East and West Indian, or		7	,, ,,
48,523	× 52 = 2,523,196			100	

And the value of this cotton was £33,520,919; but the value of the Indian portion did not exceed £1,520,919, instead of

£2,760,546, which was the average price of the whole quantity, and this difference of £1,239,627 was solely due to the inferior quality of the material supplied by India.

The consumption of 1861 was largely maintained by stores accumulated from the growth of previous years, and from the working up of old stocks, but there was an important change in the sources of supply. The total consumption was two million three hundred and sixty-three thousand six hundred and twenty-eight bags, composed as follows :—

34,792	bags weekly of American, or	. . .	77	per cent of the whole.
3,726	,, Egyptian or Brazilian, or		8	,, ,,
6,946	,, East and West Indian, or		15	,, ,,
45,454 × 52 = 2,363,628			100	

Not choice, but dire necessity, brought about this increased consumption of Indian cotton, for the masters knew that the production of yarn and cloth would be far less in quantity, and of greatly inferior quality, and the hands knew that it needed extra toil for greatly diminished wages ; the calico printer complained that the hard and uneven cloth spoiled his patterns, and the tradesmen and consumers refused to believe that cloths which felt so thin to handle were produced out of the accustomed counts of yarn and weft with the usual number of picks to the square inch.

Mr. Bazley compiled from the Board of Trade returns the following tables, showing the production, home consumption, and exports, for 1860 and 1861 :—

	1860.	1861.
Exports of manufactures and yarns, with two-thirds of the apparel, millinery, &c.	£56,119,653	£50,554,792
Value of home consumption . . .	28,880,347	27,445,208
	£85,000,000	£78,000,000

And Mr. Bazley divides these grand totals as follow :—

Value of raw cotton, dyes, oils, &c. .	£36,195,562	£37,805,552
Wages, interest, and profit . . .	48,804,438	40,194,448
	£85,000,000	£78,000,000

And he again divides the second item in the last estimate into—

Operatives' wages	£26,804,438	£22,194,448
Capitalist's interest and profit . . .	22,000,000	18,000,000
	£48,804,438	£40,194,448

And Mr. Henry Ashworth sums up the progress of the cotton trade and of the county of Lancaster in a very few words, or to speak more truly in a very few figures, thus—

In 1760 Dr. Percival stated the value of one year's production at	£200,000.
In 1860 Mr. Bazley ,, ,, ,, ,,	£85,000,000.
In 1769 the cotton imported into the United Kingdom was .	3,870,000 lbs.
In 1860 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	1,083,600,000 lbs.
In 1784 the value of 1lb. of No. 42's yarn was	10s. 11d.
In 1860 ,, ,, ,, ...	0s. 11d.
In 1786 the value of 1lb. of No. 100's yarn was	38s. 0d.
In 1860 ,, ,, ,, ...	2s. 6d.

And the effects of this giant industry upon the port of Liverpool and the county of Lancaster are thus tersely stated :—

In 1760 the sum received for dock dues at Liverpool was . .	£2,330.
In 1860 ,, ,, ,, ,, . .	£444,417.
In 1692 the real property assessed for land-tax in Lancashire was	£97,242.
In 1815 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, .	£3,087,774.
In 1851 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, . .	£8,640,695.
In 1860 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, .	£11,453,851.

And the cause of all this immense development is seen at a glance in its final result; it is the possible economy of cotton, as compared with its competitors—wool and flax. In the normal condition of the cotton trade, as it existed in 1860, Mr. Ashworth says :—

1lb. of flannel would cost	3s. 1d.
1lb. of linen ,, ...	2s. 4d.
1lb. of calico ,, ...	1s. 0d.

What a world of wisdom is contained in those three little lines; it has taken the ingenuity of a century to develop it; clever men without number have spent their days in toil, and their nights in thought, to facilitate the operation; the world has been scoured round, first for the material to work upon, and then to find consumers for the productions; each man pursuing what he deemed to be his own interest solely, has yet been yoked inevitably to the car of progress; inventors increasing the powers of production, or the facilities for distribution, and seeking patent prices as their reward; employers investing capital, organising and superintending labour, in order to share largely in its fruits; merchants traversing the ocean and the desert to find out the markets which would leave the largest margin between the buying and the selling prices; retail dealers holding stock ready for the consumers, and

hoping to grow rich by payment for the convenience provided; all self-seeking, although all not succeeding in their designs; yet all combining, whether knowingly or not, by their constant efforts to secure good bargains for themselves, and by their competition with each other, to aid in the grand result of increasing the means of human enjoyment, without increasing the toil necessary for the purpose. The possibility of this economy has built up the cotton industry; whilst the inventive, organising, productive, and mercantile enterprise employed in it, have done much to educate the people of this kingdom, and to carry civilisation to every country upon the earth.

CHAPTER IV.

Regularity and Punctuality a Feature of Lancashire Life—Effects of Discipline on Workpeople—Trades Societies—Strikes for Wages—Effects of Strikes—Policy of Employers—Proposed Reconstruction of Trades Societies—Advantage of Rapid Accumulation of Capital—The Employers of South Staffordshire and the Discharge Note—The Strike at the Manchester New Prison—The Architect and the Hodman—Proposal to give the Workman an Interest in Profits—Application of the Principle—The Limited Liability Act—Co-operative Stores and Relief Committees.

THE discipline of the cotton mill has spread its influences beyond the walls of the workshop, and regularity and punctuality have become essential parts of Lancashire life. A public meeting commences at the exact time for which it is called, business engagements are kept to the minute, terms of credit are short and payments prompt. A stranger introduced into the Manchester Exchange at one o'clock on a Tuesday, sees a crowd of well-dressed and brisk looking men, who appear to be shaking hands and passing compliments with each other, for an hour or an hour and a half, and then to go home to dinner; and he is astonished to learn that in the short space during which he has been looking on, business engagements have been entered into, without any exchange of written documents, and without the use of a single stamp, to the amount of a million sterling. And this association for business purposes begets an *esprit de corps* for common objects which is often available and most valuable in matters of international commercial intercourse. Since the adoption of the doctrine of free trade as the national policy, the merchants of Lancashire can by means of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, bring their concentrated intellect and energy to bear, in extending the system with its blessings to other nations, with the full knowledge that those blessings will be reflected in their consequences to this country, thus blessing both the receiver and the giver.

And the effects of manufacturing discipline have not been less upon the workpeople than upon their employers. The habit of working together has taught them to associate for other purposes, and the necessity of submission to strict rules within the mill, has led them to make rules for their own guidance in matters which seem to concern themselves more immediately. The old error under which men believed that it was within the power of employers to pay whatever wages they pleased, together with the feeling of individual weakness, led to the construction of societies of workmen to resist reductions ; and the task of regulating wages which the government had tried at various periods, and had failed to accomplish, fell into the hands of working men. Although the conviction which led to the establishment of these societies is considerably modified, yet associations for the protection of wages are still in active existence in the cotton trade, and whilst occasionally useful in healing differences, quite as often do much mischief, by interference which is uncalled for and unacceptable. The days of machine breaking, in the ignorant belief that new machines permanently lessen employment, are over in the cotton trade ; most of the improvements of the last twenty years have been either to economise waste, or to increase the size of the machines ; and as the greater part of the labour is "piece work" (and is paid for at so much per pound for spinning, or so much per piece for weaving), the hands do not object to an investment of capital to increase the size of the machinery provided there be no proposed reduction of wages involved. But as manufacturers do not always consent to spend extra capital without extra returns, these improvements occasionally cause dissensions, and "strikes" for wages follow. During the rapid progress of invention in the last half century, it has been necessary for an employer, who wished to keep up with his competitors, to allow something like seven and a half per cent per annum on the cost of his machinery, for depreciation or renewal, else he would very soon be out of the market. The immense increase of the trade has rendered this course imperative, for the proprietor of a new mill would of course seek to stock it with machinery containing all the latest improvements ; and then older establishments would be obliged to follow, in order to be upon equal terms with the new man in the market. Thus inventions and improvements, which if brought out in connexion with a trade of less expansive

power, might have waited, as Wyatt's original spinning machine did, for a generation before being utilised, have in the last half century only come to supply actually existing wants, and have generally therefore found eager purchasers. The difference in the machinery alone, as between one mill and another, has often resulted in a difference of production, and consequently of wages, to the extent of ten per cent, where the nominal piecework prices were the same; and a mill in which one employer has realised a large fortune, has, by simple neglect of improvements which have made their way in the market, speedily ruined its next occupant.

But the chief strikes for wages originate either when the workmen think that trade is good enough to allow an advance, which advance the employers are not willing to concede; or when employers find trade unprofitable, and seek to turn the scale by lessening the cost of production through a reduction of wages, which reduction is resisted by the workpeople. Whatever may be the causes of strikes, there can be but one opinion of the results which they produce, viz., that they are disastrous to trade by waste of capital; injurious to health and morality, by the privation of food, by hindrance to education, by idleness, by dissipation, and by temptation to crime; and injurious to society by the ill-feeling which is generated between employers and their workpeople. The mere money loss which is incurred is sometimes enormous.

A paper on this subject was read by the author, before the British Association, in 1861, from which the following table is extracted.

Examples of Unsuccessful Strikes, with Estimate of Loss to Society.

Name of Town.	No of Hands.	Weeks on Strike.	Wages per Week.	Amount of Loss of Wages	Profit at 12½ per cent on Capital.	Subscriptions at One-fourth Wages.	Total Loss.
			s	£	£	£	£
Preston	15,000	38	15	427,500	92,625	106,875	627,000
Padiham	800	29	—	17,400	3,770	4,350	24,520
Clitheroe	3,000	6	—	13,500	2,925	3,375	19,800
Blackburn and district .	40,000	3	—	90,000	19,500	22,500	132,000
Ashton and district .	22,000	6	—	99,000	21,450	24,750	145,200
Colne	1,500	50	—	56,250	12,187	14,062	82,499
Bolton	12,000	6	—	54,000	11,700	13,500	79,200
				757,650	164,157	189,412	1,110,219

The only explanation needed is that some of these strikes were amongst weavers and some amongst spinners, and all within about five years; and that the average capital employed is assumed at sixty-five pounds per hand, in order to get at the employers' losses.

But the loss here set down is by no means the total loss sustained by society. The lost wages would, if the people had kept at work, have passed through the hands of shopkeepers, making an average of fifteen per cent gross profit, and one half of the profits of the employer would also have passed through the same course; so that we have to add to the total given in the table, the sum of one hundred and twenty-five thousand nine hundred and sixty pounds as shopkeepers' losses. Then the other half of the profits of the employer (eighty-two thousand and seventy-eight pounds), and the savings of the shopkeepers, say one quarter of their profits (thirty-one thousand four hundred and ninety pounds), would have been invested, and so added to the permanent employment fund; and at the rate of sixty-five pounds per hand would have required one thousand seven hundred and forty-five more workpeople; so that the result to the workpeople themselves, besides the present loss, is like the annihilation of a whole village. The demand for the labour of one thousand seven hundred and forty-five extra hands, who, apart from the strikes, would have found wages and homes, is gone; the covers at nature's board, as Mr. Malthus would have said, have been wilfully removed; so that, if this extra number be provided for at all, it must be by a workhouse allowance, or a levy upon the plates of the other workpeople, *i.e.*, by a reduction of wages. The money loss of the workmen by strikes may be further illustrated by the following table, also extracted from the paper above alluded to. It is assumed that fifty weeks will represent a working year, and that the wages of a week will represent two per cent of the wages of a year. If, therefore, a strike for five per cent succeeds, after a duration of any of the terms set forth, its results will be roughly exhibited thus:—

						Years of Work at the Extra Rate.
The loss of 1 lunar month's wages will require to make it up						$1\frac{3}{5}$
,,	2	,,	,,	,,	,,	$3\frac{1}{5}$
,,	3	,,	,,	,,	,,	$4\frac{4}{5}$
,,	6	,,	,,	,,	,,	$9\frac{3}{5}$
,,	12	,,	,,	,,	,,	$19\frac{1}{5}$
,,	$12\frac{1}{2}$	,,	,,	,,	,,	20

But as money is worth five per cent at interest, it follows that if a strike for five per cent lasts twelve and a half months, and then succeeds, and if the increase of wages be maintained for twenty years, the workman will then have lost in interest much more than he has gained in wages, and that, therefore, no part of the loss of such a strike can ever be made up; because if he could have worked for the lower sum during the year of strike, and could have invested instead of spending the money, the year's wages would have grown into almost three years' wages by the time in which the money gained by the strike would make up for the loss of a single year's work. If such be the results of a successful strike, what shall we say of the four-fifths which are failures, especially when we learn that wages in the cotton districts undergo a sort of general adjustment, on an average, every three or four years? We may safely affirm that it is utterly impossible for the loss by a strike for a small amount ever to be recouped to the workpeople. General adjustments of wages occurred in 1853, in 1857, and in 1860, and another will probably take place in the present year (1865), so soon as employment becomes again general. Some well intentioned people encourage workmen in combined resistance to reductions of wages, under the impression that it is their only resource, and that, apart from strikes, they would become simply slaves of their employers. If these persons would place themselves in the position of a manufacturer who employs five hundred workpeople, and who has looms prepared for two hundred more waiting for hands, they would soon tell a different tale. The capital is invested in the building and machinery, and is waiting for workpeople before a return can be secured. How, in a time of good trade, when all the best workmen are engaged, must such a man act? Evidently the only course by which his looms can be got to work is by offering an advantage in wages. And in a large and thriving trade, there are always extensions in progress in some locality. And, as it is only in a time of good trade that advances of wages can possibly be secured, this element of extension might be made to answer all the purposes of a successful strike, without any of its expenses or injurious consequences. For instance, if the associations of workmen were to act simply as registration offices, collecting information of the state of trade and wages from the various districts; then, on the occurrence

of a misunderstanding, a portion of the workpeople could leave at once, if it were possible to get placed elsewhere with advantage. Assuming this possibility, the removal of a number of hands, after proper notice given, would test the ability of the employer in question to give an advance, or to abstain from a reduction, for he would naturally prefer to give up a portion of his profit to losing the whole of it by the loss of his workpeople. And, if the removal of a portion of the hands served only to get their places supplied by others at the same price, the fair conclusion would be that a strike could not have been successful. And so also, if the information as to the state of trade showed that no advantage could be gained by removal, the fair conclusion would be that the wages paid were the best which the market could give, and that it would be folly to strike for an advance. It is quite true that there may be short periods when large profits are making by the employers generally, without any immediate advantage to the workpeople, but this can only be for a short time and when hands are plentiful in the particular department; for capital will immediately flow in that direction, and new machinery will be rapidly prepared which will absorb all the hands and make a rise not only possible but certain, if the good demand continues. The interest of the workman, as of all the world, is that capital should accumulate rapidly; if it accumulates in the hands of the workmen, and is thriftily managed, it will promote employment, and give a chance of improved wages; if it accumulates in the hands of shopkeepers, it will likewise promote employment; and if it accumulates in the hands of masters, it will still promote employment and increased wages; and the more rapidly it accumulates the more demand for labour will there be, and the higher will be the rate of wages. Wages, measured by the weekly income, have risen during the last twenty-five years in the cotton trade, from fifteen to twenty-five per cent, whilst the hours of labour are less by nine per week. This result has been accomplished not by strikes but in spite of them; for amidst all their evils they have occasionally, by stimulating genius in the production of self-acting machinery, done some good also. But whilst this ameliorating process has been going on, strikes by workmen and lockouts by employers have sacrificed some four millions sterling, which, if it could have been saved and used, would by this time have required

more than a hundred thousand extra hands. Some persons will contend that the above inference is not true, because, as they say, if the strikes had not happened, over production would have forced on short time working, and would thus only have spread the assumed loss of capital over a large surface. But these persons forget that what they call over production lowers prices until profits disappear, and thus induces shippers to seek new markets, which, when once found and established, make an enlarged permanent demand for produce and provide for increased employment. Over production thus, by a reduction of prices, cures itself; and the greater the reduction the wider will be the range of increased consumption. And if the new markets are not permanent, then capital will seek other means of productive investment, and will still find employment for extra men, although in a different trade, which in time will create new customers for the trade from which the capital has been withdrawn.

In December, 1864, some three hundred employers in the midland counties agreed that, on the occasion of a strike, they would not take on new hands without requiring a "discharge note" in each case from the last employer. The workmen denounced this step as gross tyranny, and as calculated to reduce the working man to the condition of a serf. The employers replied that the step was only adopted to remedy the tyranny of the workmen, and related two instances as samples of the treatment to which they had been subjected. They were as follow:—First, a contractor was engaged upon some heavy brick works near a canal, so he had his bricks brought to the place in barges, and set his labourers to wheel them to the works; the bricklayers, alleging that this was a violation of their trade rules, insisted that the bricks should be unladen on the canal bank, and then picked up one by one, and carried in hods to the site where they were needed. Second, a builder was engaged in erecting a chimney at a large railway station; and just when the shaft was ready for its stone base, the masons, sixty in number, went off on a drinking bout; so the bricklayers, after waiting some time in vain for the return of the masons, set the stones themselves, and went on with the building of the shaft. When the masons returned they at once struck work, and declared that not another stone should be set till the chimney had been pulled down again to its base, and the stone

work done over again by themselves. In both these cases the contractors were forced to submit, and out of conduct such as this originated the discharge note proposal. The measure was undoubtedly tyrannical, and, if such a practice gets established, it is not likely to be confined to cases of strikes, and will, probably, cause much trouble; for a master might refuse for any reason, or for no reason, to give a discharge note, and then, except in very busy times, when the prospect of gain would practically negative all such arrangements, the non-pliant workman would be permanently chargeable to his trade society. The *Manchester Examiner*, writing on this subject, 18th January, 1865, said, "Let it be observed that the masters are acting strictly within their legal rights, and that in adopting the discharge note system they are merely borrowing weapons which have been turned to deadly use against themselves. In most trades (where trades unions are strong) the best workman in the country cannot get a job unless he brings with him a clear union ticket. If such a man by chance obtained employment, all the other union workmen would strike against him. In point of fact, they insist upon a discharge note, only in this case the note is issued by a committee of workmen, and certifies that the bearer is a loyal member of the trade. * * We hold the discharge note system to be morally indefensible; but we hold the same of the entire system of trade coercion, whether practised by the masters or the men. It is a huge outrage on the rights of labour, a grinding despotism, worked mainly by the men themselves, but full of injustice and misery to their own order, and equally mischievous and burthensome to society." And the editor tells the tale of a strike which commenced at the Manchester new prison, in June, 1864; and in January, 1865, had spread to all the jobs of the same contractor, and to all the work under the superintendence of the same architect. It seems to be a traditional usage that the labourer who is first engaged to carry bricks and mortar at a job shall head the procession of hodmen to the scaffold; but on the occasion in question, the foreman bricklayer, for reasons of his own, changed this order, and straightway the labourers struck work. He then engaged "navvies," with barrows to wheel the bricks to the bricklayers, but at this innovation the bricklayers struck, and demanded the discharge of the foreman. The contractor refused compliance, and the country was

then scoured for fresh hands, and on these being obtained, the bricklayers appealed to the joiners at the adjoining building (the new assize courts), and they also struck. Fresh joiners were engaged, and then bricklayers and joiners struck at all the jobs of the same contractor. When this measure failed to procure the discharge of the obnoxious foreman bricklayer, the architect was appealed to for help; and after he had failed in his mission to the contractor, the strike extended to all the jobs under his superintendence, and he was punished because he had not succeeded, at the request of the bricklayers, in getting another man's servant discharged. And lime merchants and brickmakers declined to serve contractors under this architect, for fear of the vengeance of the workmen. In January, 1865, the builders and contractors of Birkenhead received formal notice from the bricklayers of that town that after the month of July, no more steam-power made bricks would be laid! Is it not time that the system of employment should be changed? Would any such quarrels occur in the building trades if masters, in addition to minimum wages, agreed to give to workmen who stayed to the end of a job a share in twenty per cent of the profits? And is it not probable that the extra speed with which a job would be accomplished, and the economy of waste, would render the eighty per cent left to the employer more than a hundred per cent under the old conditions?

It may be objected that to introduce the principle of a division of profits would only shift the ground of a strike; and that the workmen would declare for a larger proportion than twenty or twenty-five per cent, and would strike for that larger amount. But our belief is that a short trial would prove what proportion of profit an employer could give up without substantial loss; that such proportion would soon become the rule, and that wages would be a fixed sum per piece or per day; all variation therefrom being dependent on profits, which the hearty exertions of the men would increase, and their neglect diminish, to a serious extent.

There are only three conditions of employment possible where trade associations prevail. First, a continual state of war, or preparation for war, between employers and workmen, with all the means for attack and defence which the genius of either side can suggest; second, the erection of a court of arbitration, into which the representatives of either side might take a case of dispute for settlement;

and third, a participation in profits by the workmen, so as to interest them in the quality of work done and in the speed of its performance. Arbitration would prevent much mischief in the meantime, when the question in dispute was capable of being arbitrated; but society seems to be progressing rapidly towards the third position.

Trades societies are very good things if kept within legitimate bounds; *i.e.*, to supply information at all points as to the state of trade and wages throughout the country, and to assist in the removal of workmen to the best situations; and to comprise also sickness benefits, which would not be vitiated by change of locality; but they become very injurious things when they seek to render labour artificially scarce in order to raise its price; or try to draw sharp lines of demarcation between one trade and another; or to dictate to employers as to who shall be employed or who shall be discharged. What would be thought of a speculator who, in a time of scarcity, should buy up large quantities of corn and destroy a portion of it in order to raise the price of the remainder? When corn is scarce, speculators by purchasing and withholding it from the market force on a measure of economy, which, by lessening the daily consumption, spreads the supply over a longer period, and saves the lives of the people; but to make an artificial scarcity by the destruction of food would be great wickedness. Labour is rendered artificially scarce by a strike, and to withhold needful labour for a day is equal to the destruction of the labour of a day; and the produce of the industry in question, whether it be clothing, machinery, houses, or other means of comfort, is rendered scarce thereby. It is for the benefit of the individual and of society that so long as an acre of land remains untilled, or a pound of raw material remains to be worked up, that the land should be tilled and the material wrought up, if the labour thereon will afford living wages; for whatever adds to the world's wealth not only increases the comforts of the people for the time being, but increases also the savings, out of which come the demand for increased labour, and the payment of increased wages for the future. If the speculator shuts up corn from the market, and unduly raises its price, he is punished when he brings it out again, by suffering depreciation, whilst society gains by increased cheapness; but labour kept out of the market is not economised, but lost for ever—its absence can never be atoned for; its loss can never be made up, and never compensated.

CHAPTER V.

Co-operative Stores and Manufacturing Companies—Robert Owen and Infant Schools—The Queenwood Community—The Friendly Societies' Act and its Improvements—Socialism and the First Co-operative Stores—The Rochdale Plan—Principle of a Store—The Wholesale Society—The Corn Mill—Joint-Stock Companies and the Cotton Crisis—Division of Profits amongst the Operatives—The Relief Committee and Co-operation—Lord Derby's Minute—The Haslingden Guardians and the Stores—The Property of the Working Classes.

One of the most interesting and important developments of recent years amongst working men is embodied in the co-operative stores and manufacturing companies. Arising out of improved education and business experience, and perhaps also from a conviction that in the organization of labour the employers have the best of the bargain; they mark an epoch from which industrial life takes a new start, and promises within a short time to alter the principal features of trade and employment. The late Robert Owen, of New Lanark, having seen the method of teaching pursued by Pestalozzi and Fellenberg on the continent, and being interested in the well-being of his own workpeople, set up the first infant school in the kingdom, at the village of New Lanark, in Scotland. The children were so pliable, and the results of object teaching so good, as to bring Owen to the conclusion that if he could control men's surroundings he could produce them to order; and he formulated the doctrine that "man's character is formed for him and not by him." Having noticed also the tendency of the factory system to centralize people in large towns without efficient sanitary arrangements, and that the rapid growth of real property did not prevent the growth of pauperism; he advocated the establishment of "communities" of about two thousand persons each, properly proportioned for agricultural and manufacturing operations. In these communities there was to be no private property; each person was to produce according to

his ability, and to consume according to his necessity; and all accumulations were to be common property; all were to work productively until they reached sixty years of age, when they were to become legislators and administrators.

These ideas were published by means of public meetings, lectures, and pamphlets; and from about 1835 to 1844 "Socialism" was one of the most common topics of discussion in English society. A Communistic Association was formed, and branches opened in every considerable town and village; and land was leased, and the first side of a parallelogram for the first community was erected at Queenwood, in Hampshire (now known as Queenwood College). In the meantime, and in order to get rid of one of the "evils of competition," the members of the association, in various places, clubbed their money and bought grocery and drapery goods by wholesale, and divided the profits amongst themselves. In many towns provision shops were opened, but as the law did not allow "Friendly Societies" to trade, the sales were either confined to the members, or else the shops were obliged to be put into the names of one or two persons without any security for their honesty. The division of profits was according to the capital invested, and was soon found to be a fatal error, because it did not bind even the members of the society to purchase at the stores; and the errors of managers and the prejudices of the women led to accumulations of bad stock. This error in principle, together with the ignorance of some and the dishonesty of other managers, coupled with the failure of the Hampshire community, sadly disappointed the sanguine hopes of the promoters, and swept away most of these stores in 1844-5.

To the men connected with the principal store at Rochdale, is due the establishment of a basis which has retained all which was good and practicable in the first stores, whilst avoiding the cardinal error of divisions according to capital. Co-operation, as established by them, retains much of the good of communism, but gives to people according to their successful exertions, instead of according to their necessities. Upon the Rochdale model there are now about ninety stores in Lancashire, turning over about a million sterling annually.

Various alterations have within a few years been made in the Friendly Societies' Act, so that co-operative stores can now sell

not to their members alone, but also to the public; the restriction as to holding land is done away with; one society can invest funds in another, either as shares or on loan, and the liability of each member is limited to the amount of his shares. The usual constitution of a co-operative society for the sale of articles of provisions and clothing is as follows:—Each member is a proprietor of one or more one pound shares, on each of which he must pay threepence per month until they are paid up. A committee of management is chosen by the shareholders, and this committee engages and discharges servants, and overlooks the business transactions, accounting to the members quarterly. The manager of the store goes to the best market which the means at his disposal will allow, and makes his purchases for cash; securing so far as possible pure articles, and the best terms. The sales at the shop are generally all made for cash; or if credit be given it is limited to one-half or three-fourths of the amount invested in shares by the member seeking credit. Stock is taken and a balance-sheet made out and presented quarterly or half-yearly, and the proposed appropriation of profits is submitted to a meeting of the members. The amount allotted to capital is always at the rate of five per cent per annum on all paid-up shares; it is common to devote two and a half per cent of the nett profits to the formation or support of a library and reading-room, or to other educational objects, and the balance is divided at so much per pound as it will make on the sales of goods; each person receiving according to the sum of his purchases; but the non-member a less proportion than the member, because he incurs no risk of loss from failure. In a well conducted store, the ordinary dividend is about one and sixpence in the pound on purchases; and it is common for these societies to turn over their capital about six times per annum. During the year 1864, a combination of these stores set up a wholesale society, with the intention of going to market for fifty or a hundred stores at once, and thus securing still greater advantages. This society is formed by a subscription of capital from the various retail stores, and its manager buys in the best markets; and after distributing to the different stores at the usual wholesale prices, and paying the usual five per cent on capital, the profits are divided amongst the constituents of the store, according to the sum of their purchases. The wholesale society has turned over a capital

of two thousand pounds, so as to do a business of forty-six thousand pounds in six months. One of the Rochdale societies works a corn mill, the capital in which is chiefly composed of loans at five per cent from the various stores trading with the mill for flour, &c. When a store has more capital than it can use profitably, the corn mill society acts as a bank, receiving its deposits at five per cent, and sharing profits according to purchases as in the wholesale society, so as to secure the store from loss, whilst paying the same amount on all paid-up shares to its own members.

Buying and selling is, in ordinary cases, a comparatively easy matter; and the advantages of cash are so great that a large purchaser, who goes to market weekly, with money in his pocket, is tolerably certain to be fairly dealt with; and as to the operative, if he can manage to spend his whole income at the stores, one shilling and sixpence in the pound dividend on purchases is equal to a rise of seven and a half per cent on his wages. It will not be wonderful if, in a few years, these co-operative stores succeed in banishing the small shops, at which a large proportion of the working classes now deal; and in destroying the foolish system of credit, which leads to so much demoralisation of workmen, and which ruins so many shopkeepers. It is now common for a modest-looking store to turn over a hundred pounds per week, in a shop where the former individual occupier would have thought himself well off in taking twenty pounds. Owen's error was in thinking too well of humanity. He looked upon man as if he was always a child, and upon hereditary predisposition as a matter of no importance. According to him, a rascal removed from the scene of his rascality, and placed in a pure country atmosphere, ought to become arcadian. But the co-operators, without removing a man from the position in which he has grown up, appeal to a motive which is common to all, and powerful in all of us; and they reform the man whilst apparently pandering to his love of gain. They progress towards purity of food (which the legislature has in vain attempted to enforce), by doing away with the motive for adulteration; and, as the secretary of a building society invites a man to buy his house with its own rent, so the promoters of co-operative stores invite people to set up shops for themselves out of the profits which they have hitherto given away to individual shopkeepers.

It is only natural that the success of co-operative stores should

lead to further effort in the direction of making working men their own employers; and since the passing of the Limited Liability Bill, a large number of joint-stock companies, for manufacturing purposes, have been established in Lancashire. In a considerable proportion of these the shares are largely held by working men ; and it is not at all an uncommon feature for an ordinary workman to find that he has an additional overlooker at his side in the shape of an operative shareholder. Some of these companies had got well established before the cotton crisis, and have weathered the storm as well as many of the rich individual employers ; others, which had been established on a large proportion of loan capital at five per cent, paid very large dividends on their small share capital during the time of prosperity, but have had considerable amounts to refund during the latter part of the cotton famine, in the shape of interest on loans, whilst the establishments have either been stopped or have been losing money by working. Others, again, which were just getting to work when the crisis came—having borrowed money, and also mortgaged their buildings and machinery, in the hope of speedily paying all off out of profits—have been entirely swept away. The difficulties of the crisis have also caused considerable contraction in the numbers of shareholders, so that some of the establishments which were intended to be co-operative, will simply result in setting up additional individual employers, or in establishing small partnerships.

In production, as in distribution, Rochdale has taken the lead, and mills belonging to a Friendly Society have been erected at a cost of about £60,000. In these establishments it was intended to develop still further the power of co-operative effort by a division of profits amongst all the workers. The object aimed at was to engage all the mental faculties of the operative in his work ; to give him an interest in quality as well as in quantity of production ; to induce him to turn out good work, not only to escape stoppages by the overlooker, but also to secure for the establishment a good name in the market, and thus to command good prices and make large profits. Many of the shopkeepers of Rochdale joined this society, and before the plan of sharing profits with the workers had been fairly tested, the desire to secure the present penny became so strong that the rule was overthrown ; so that although the mills are the property of a " Friendly Society," and

many of the shares are held by working men, there is now no practical difference between the working of this establishment and that of an ordinary joint-stock company.

There is a small company in Manchester which contains a provision in its articles of association to divide profits with the workpeople, but the cotton famine came before it was ready to work, and it is at least doubtful if it will ever make a profit at all.

A large company at Blackburn, which only got ready for business after the cotton famine had commenced, is now winding-up in Chancery, being unable to pay six shillings and eightpence in the pound; and the probability is that the expense of winding-up will leave the creditors without dividend, and will shew the prudence of providing other and cheaper means than the Court of Chancery for winding-up an estate under the Limited Liability Act.

But these losses and failures will not deter working men from further effort. The next turn of prosperity will inaugurate joint-stock companies in every direction; the best and most prudent workmen will become investors, seeking to be their own employers, and to realize twelve and a half per cent (the average profits of manufacturing enterprise), instead of three per cent (the savings bank interest) for their savings. Naturally, these prudent investors will seek and obtain employment in the mills and factories where they respectively hold shares; and they will as naturally be preferred by the managers, because, being interested in profits as well as in wages, they will require less overlooking, in order to secure quality as well as quantity of workmanship. Enquiry at the office of a large machine making firm in Manchester, which had been recently converted into a joint-stock company, led to the following explanation. The managing partners in the firm had come to the conclusion that a little more leisure would be agreeable, if they could only indulge it without injury to the progress of the work in hand; and after serious thought the conclusion arrived at was, to convert the firm into a joint-stock company, retaining sufficient shares in the hands of the proprietors to secure the management, and offering the remainder to officials in the establishment. The result is, that every person in employment, from the foremen upwards, are shareholders, and are interested in the profits of the company; and the managers now feel that during their own

absence there are still a hundred pairs of eyes sharpened by the prospect of profit, to secure perfect work and punctual delivery, and to economise waste and prevent breakages. Why should not this company extend the application of the principle which led to its formation, and either enlist the whole of the workmen as shareholders, or else divide profits with them in addition to paying ordinary wages; and so secure the interest of every workman in the success of the establishment? At present, the interest of the workman is confined to the production of wages, and the welfare of the trade society, which, in the event of a dispute, will assist him to fight a battle with his employers. He cares but little about the ruin of an establishment, for that event will not lessen employment, but only cause a change of masters. But, if made a partner in profits, the case would be changed. In many large warehouses the heads of departments are paid a certain stipulated sum per annum; and in addition to this, they take as wages a given proportion of the nett profits of their respective departments; and it is believed that this arrangement contributes materially to the success of the various concerns where it is practised. If this principle be good for the heads of departments, what reason is there to predicate its failure when applied throughout? If it serves the purpose of a joint-stock company to apply it to foremen, what reason is there against extending it to the whole of the workmen employed? Yet this is all which is involved in the principle of co-operation. Working men seek to become their own shopkeepers, and thereby to economise the employment of capital, and to do away with all temptation to adulterate food, or to cheat in weight and measure. If the storekeeper be simply a servant at wages employed by the customer, instead of a capitalist, who invests in food and clothing, and taxes for the consumer, and who charges interest in the shape of profit, at the highest rates which the ignorance of the customer and the competition of the neighbouring shopkeeper will allow, the economy must needs be great. And if investments in the distribution of wealth be profitable, it is certain that the working classes will not rest till they have experimented in production also. It is true that manufacturing involves much more tact and skill than mere buying for and selling to a known list of customers, whose wants and tastes are easily learned. A cotton spinner's purchases involve not only a knowledge of the qualities of different kinds of

cotton, but also a judgment as to the probability of the price of the raw material rising or falling during the process of working up; his management includes not only a superintendence of all the processes, but a knowledge of the best mixings to produce a given yarn of good quality out of the lowest priced cotton which the keenest ingenuity can render fit for the purpose; and the great difference between co-operative stores and joint-stock manufacturing companies consists in the fact, that the bulk of the customers of the stores are partners in the concern, making profit for themselves; whilst the customers of the manufacturing companies will care only to get the best possible article at the price, whether it be the produce of joint-stock or of individual enterprise. Unless the workman can be interested in the quality of his workmanship, a joint-stock company will enjoy no advantage whatever over the individual spinner or manufacturer; but if the workmen in a joint-stock mill under good management be shareholders, it will be strange if the products do not command such a character in the market as to secure an advantage. And the same effect would probably be produced in a mill with ordinary workpeople, if in addition to ordinary wages, a proportion of the nett profits of the concern (say one-quarter) were divided amongst them, according to the wages earned by each. And in the event of the spread of establishments, owned in great part by the working classes, this division of profits amongst the workpeople will probably be resorted to by the individual employer, in order to retain his best workmen. The problem for solution is whether, by giving up one-fourth of his profits, the remaining three-fourths belonging to the employer would or would not become equal to the whole former sum. The amount of capital invested in the cotton manufacture will average about £65 per hand, and make an average profit of twelve and a half per cent per annum. Our problem assumes, therefore, this simple shape: Can the employers, by giving up forty shillings and sevenpence per annum per hand, get recouped by larger production, better quality, economy of waste, and fewer breakages? A good character in the market is often worth five per cent in the price of goods; one-half of this upon £65 would secure three-quarters of the sum. The man who works only for wages seeks to turn off the largest possible amount of yarn or cloth; but in looking only to the largest production, he is apt to forget the matter of waste; and the roadsides of country

mills, and the water-closets in towns, often show how much of the manufacturer's capital, and the spinner's labour and wages, have been simply thrown away. If an interest in profits given to the hands saved one-half of this waste (which is quite a possible result by the exercise of greater care), the whole of the proposed share of profits would be recouped. From the whole of these sources, therefore—larger production, better quality, and less waste—it is not unreasonable to believe that the employer who gave up one-fourth of his profits would be saved from loss. And if saved from pecuniary loss, would he not also be saved from the annoyance and injury resulting from strikes for wages? Would not mutual confidence grow up between employers and workpeople, in place of the distrust which is now so common, and which forces them to range themselves in rival armies, always ready on the least provocation for battle? Would not wages settle at something like an average rate, and leave the results of good times to be gleaned out of profits? If this should be the effect produced by workmen's investments in joint-stock companies, society will have much to thank them for.

One difficulty in giving up a share in profits is in the fact that more profit is often made out of a fortunate speculation in the purchase of cotton than in its spinning or manufacture; and as in these purchases the hands have no possible concern, it does not seem reasonable that they should be partakers in the results. This difficulty would be got over if the cotton or yarn was charged, in each case, at the average price of the month, and all the calculations for division of profits based upon that standard; for it would leave the proprietor to win or lose by his own speculations, and would leave to the workpeople an interest in all which the quality of their work could possibly influence.

The act for limiting the liabilities of shareholders in joint-stock companies bids fair not only to increase the productiveness of capital but to revolutionise the manner of its employment; for it enables men who have accumulated fortunes to give up trading, and to spread their capital over many concerns, thus averaging the risk, and securing average profits, without personal superintendence. It also enables working men to club their small savings, by taking shares in public companies, with the prospect of becoming their own employers; and the co-operative stores, by securing the

ordinary profits of shopkeeping to the consumers, provide the means which, if allowed to accumulate, will suffice to build mills and stock them with machinery and raw material. The average profit of these stores is seven and a half per cent on purchases, and the average profit of the cotton manufacture is twelve and a half per cent per annum on capital; so that if a working man spends fifteen shillings per week at a store, and pays his dividends into a joint-stock company making ordinary profits, the accumulations at the end of about twenty years would be about £350, which, at twelve and a half per cent, would give a very fair annuity to its owner (upwards of £43 per annum).

During the cotton crisis the jealousy of some shopkeepers and the opposition of some few employers to these establishments caused considerable ill-feeling. Several cases were reported to the central relief committee, in which local committees had either refused relief to members of co-operative stores, or had refused to let the tickets for relief in kind be spent in these establishments. Two instances were mentioned of applicants for relief who had each a few shillings invested in a store, and who were required to withdraw these sums before any relief was granted. A sum of two shillings is ordinarily charged on withdrawal from membership, and when this fine had been paid, one poor woman had to take out the magnificent sum of fourpence halfpenny to entitle herself to relief. The discussion upon this subject in the central committee led to the following minute, which was drawn up by Lord Derby, and unanimously adopted :—

"FUND FOR RELIEF OF DISTRESS IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.

"*Appendix to Report presented to General Committee,* 19*th January,* 1863, *being suggestions offered to the Central Executive Committee, at their Meeting on the* 12*th January,* 1863, *by the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, K.G., Chairman.*

"In the administration of the relief contributed by charitable persons from all parts of the United Kingdom and its dependencies, and from many foreign countries, the Central Executive Committee have undertaken a deeply-responsible task. It is, not only to

distribute the alms entrusted to them by public beneficence, but so to distribute them that, on the one hand, they may not place the honest and industrious upon the same footing with the idle and the profligate; and, on the other hand, that they may not abuse public liberality, by making their funds contribute to the relief of those who have unexpended means of their own.

"The experience, and the practice, of various local committees show the extreme difficulty of drawing any line which should precisely effect these objects; while, at the same time, it is very desirable to lay down some general principle for their guidance, and for the satisfaction of the general body of subscribers.

"It will be at once admitted that the object of the public subscriptions is to furnish the means of existence, from day to day, to those whose ordinary resources have been cut off by the failure of the cotton supply; a failure, however, which affects not only those engaged in the cotton manufacture, but, through them, a large proportion of the population, who, as tradesmen or otherwise, are indirectly interested in their earnings. The loss of those earnings, exclusive of the great loss of wages in other dependent trades, has been estimated at not less than one hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds a week, or eight million five hundred thousand pounds a year. How, then, is this loss distributed? What are the classes on whom it falls? and, of those classes, who are they who are entitled to share in the relief to be administered through the central, and by means of the local committees?

"There can be no doubt that the workmen actually engaged in the cotton manufacture, and thrown out of employment by the failure of that branch of industry, have the first and primary claim on the relief committees, and it ought to be a main object so to relieve those among them who are thrown out of work by the present cotton crisis, as to place them in a better position than habitual paupers. In the present exceptional condition, however, the principle of supplementing the parish allowance by additional relief is, in some cases, excusable, and may become indispensable.

"But what shall be a disqualification for obtaining relief? The first answer obviously is, that, the relief being intended for those who have no other resource, the possession of property must strike an applicant off the list. And it is easy to see the abuses to which a departure from this rule are liable. Nevertheless,

there are cases which have been brought before both the local and the central committees which require very careful examination.

"Among them are the following:—1st. The case of those who by persevering industry have accumulated a small sum of money, and have invested it in savings banks.—2nd. Those who, under similar circumstances, have invested (*a*) in benefit societies, (*b*) in co-operative societies.—3rd. Those whose property is invested in cottages, of which they are unable to obtain the rents, and are consequently, though in possession of freehold property, in a state of actual destitution.—4th. Small shopkeepers, dependent on any of the above.

"I. However harsh it may sound, and however painful it may be to say that before receiving relief under such circumstances as the present, a man must be compelled to sacrifice the accumulations of a long life of industry, it is difficult to suggest any alternative. The greatest caution must be exercised in dispensing, to those who have any resource to fall back upon, the relief intended for the preservation of life.

"II. (1) It is impossible to allow the funds subscribed for the relief of destitution to be applied for the payment of the contributions of members to sick clubs or other benefit societies. These cases must be left to be dealt with by the societies themselves. (2) The co-operative societies stand upon a peculiar footing. The societies known by this name comprise provision and clothing stores, and flour mills, which are conducted, to a great extent, on co-operative principles; but cotton manufactories, called co-operative, are generally, if not universally, simply joint-stock companies of limited liability, the capital of which has been subscribed in small shares, chiefly by workmen in the cotton districts, and which are often built and conducted with the aid of loans. They have arisen out of motives which do the highest honour to the operative classes; and there is no question but that they have induced habits of frugality, temperance, and self-restraint, which have operated greatly to the benefit of the working classes, morally and physically. But it is indisputable that the shares in some of these co-operative societies are at the present moment greatly depreciated, and in some cases actually valueless. Is, then, the possession, say of one or more shares in one of these societies, to exclude the holder from a title to relief? On the principle applied to the savings banks, the answer should

be in the affirmative; and the more so, as the investment has hitherto yielded a larger interest. But it is to be remembered, on the other hand, that whatever has been invested in the savings banks realises, on its withdrawal, the whole of its nominal amount; whereas the co-operative shares are in many cases not only depreciated, but, if compelled to be sold, would realise little or nothing to the possessors. The utmost, therefore, which can fairly be required is that the holder shall have mortgaged his share, and that he is not at the present moment deriving any pecuniary benefit from it. In such a case, I think the holder might fairly be entitled to relief, as having, for the time, no other resources.

"III. There is, also, a class, and rather a numerous one, whose case is in many respects similar to that of the owners of co-operative shares. It is not an uncommon case for persons who have saved a small sum, to invest it in the purchase of one or two cottages, the rent of which, in ordinary times, returns a full interest for the money invested, a portion of which, however, is frequently borrowed on mortgage of the property itself. But under the present exceptional circumstances, this property has become absolutely valueless, and worse than valueless, when any part of the capital has been borrowed. The owner is still liable to the mortgage, while it is impossible for him to collect any rent; or, if he should attempt it, only by the harsh process of distraint, yielding little to him, and sacrificing the little property of the tenant at a ruinous loss. Those owners, therefore, although with visible property, are in many cases on the very verge of destitution; and it would seem unreasonable, in their case, to insist, as a condition of relief, upon their divesting themselves of a property, which, for the time, is practically unsaleable, as well as unprofitable. The wise and humane policy would seem to be that recommended with regard to co-operative or joint-stock shares: and in deciding upon the claim to relief, to estimate only the amount of income actually received, and to omit from calculation any property which, for the time, is yielding no return.

"IV. A somewhat similar principle would apply to the case of the small shopkeeper, whose sole capital is his little stock in trade; and who, if from the distress of his customers, he does not realize a sum sufficient for the subsistence of his family, may fairly be considered to have a claim on the relief fund.

"V. No portion of the relief afforded must, in any case, be granted for the payment of rent. No doubt, a plausible case might be made out in favour of the opposite principle; but the abuses which would arise are so obvious and so inevitable, that on this point it is essential that the committees do not give way. A knowledge, moreover, or a suspicion, that any portion of the funds was devoted to the payment of rent, would at once check the flow of public charity.

"I am aware that some of the principles laid down in this memorandum, are widely at variance with general rules; and I am not insensible to the danger of their leading to abuse, and encouraging too great a reliance on external aid. But the circumstances of the time are of a wholly exceptional character. The first object must be to preserve the population from absolute destitution; the next, and hardly less important, is to draw a broad line between habitual pauperism, and want, the consequence of an unforeseen national calamity. It may be necessary, in consideration for the poorer ratepayers, to supplement, from relief funds, the amount given to the former from the rates; but with regard to the latter, I feel confident that the lesser of two evils is, to err on the side of over-liberality, rather than too great strictness; and I am persuaded that such is the policy which will most commend itself to the public feeling.

"DERBY.

"Printed by order of the Committee,

"JOHN WM. MACLURE, Hon. Sec.

"21, New Cannon Street, Manchester, 19th Jan., 1863."

But this minute did not permanently settle the question; for in October, 1864, a correspondence with the Poor-law Board was published in a report of the Board of Guardians sitting at Newchurch, as follows:—

"A communication had been forwarded to the Poor-law Board from Mr. Lord, the secretary of the Edgeside Holme Co-operative Store, directing attention to a notice inserted on relief tickets, stating, 'This ticket is not available at co-operative stores.' He stated that when tickets had been offered at the store they were obliged to tell people that the guardians did not allow them to

purchase at co-operative stores. He proposed to the Poor-law Board the following inquiries:—1st. Have the guardians a right to say to parties receiving relief where they shall or shall not take those tickets for grocery goods? 2nd. Have the guardians a right to stigmatise co-operative stores, when co-operative stores pay the poor rate in common with other people? A copy of the communication had been sent by the Poor-law Board to the guardians of Haslingden Union, requesting to be furnished with their observations upon it.—The Chairman said that the reason for the restriction was that the co-operative stores charged at a higher rate for their goods than private shopkeepers.—Mr. Sleath confirmed the statement made by the chairman, and said that they had put the question to the test by instructing the relieving officer to purchase sugar at the co-operative stores and at various other places; and on the samples being produced and compared, it was found that there was a difference of fifteen per cent in the price charged.—The Clerk said he understood that at the co-operative stores there was a drawback allowed from the profits.—Mr. Sleath said the drawback at Bacup Co-operative Stores was from two shillings to three shillings per pound.—The Chairman said that as long as the poor people had no more sense than to support the co-operative stores, they could not expect to be better off; because for every two shillings they get as a drawback it cost them three shillings. He thought that poor people ought to spend their money in the most economical way; and he was certain that a man with 19s. to spend at the shopkeepers would make it go as far as 20s. spent at the co-operative store.—Mr. Sleath said that formerly persons receiving relief tickets could take them to any shopkeeper they liked, but now they were prevented from taking them to the co-operative stores.—Mr. Spencer said that at Accrington the tickets were taken to each of the shopkeepers in succession, so that they were all benefited in their turn. A Guardian said that in his township the poor people were recommended to take their tickets to the shops they were accustomed to trade with.—The Chairman said that he formerly did business with a co-operative store, but he found that it cost him from five to seven and a half per cent more than he would have paid at other shops. Mr. Henry Maden said he was a shareholder in the Bacup Co-operative Store, but he never spent a shilling there.—Mr. Sleath said

that his opinion was that the guardians would be acting quite consistently if they said that the price charged at the co-operative stores was ten per cent more than at other places.—Ultimately it was decided that the clerk should be instructed to write to the Poor-law Board, stating that the reason why the guardians had made an exception was in consequence of the co-operative stores charging a higher rate for provisions than other shopkeepers."

It is difficult to imagine upon what principle the guardians would establish their right to dictate to the poor where to spend the pittance allowed them. Such dictation could not contribute to maintain the independence of the people, except upon the counter irritant plan, which, whatever it may be worth in medical, is not the most approved in moral, practice. Enquiry on the spot confirms the very natural idea that people do not and will not pay more at a store than at the neighbouring shops; but even if they did so, and succeeded in economising the cost of management, it would only be a round-about mode of saving money; for they would get back the overcharge at the end of each quarter, just in the proportion of their payments. It would surely be better to allow this movement free scope, even if it should replace the whole shopkeeping capital of the country; for by so doing it would set at liberty for productive employment all which is now fixed in the goods waiting for purchasers. Assuming the expenditure of each family in England and Wales to average twenty shillings per week, and the shopkeeper's capital to be turned over three times per annum, the capital so invested will not be less than one hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling. What a field of enterprise such a sum would open up and profitably occupy; and it will not be less advantageous for being opened up gradually and imperceptibly. At any rate, the freedom of the workman requires that he should be let alone; and he is not likely to be satisfied or to put up with a whit less than his due; and any hindrance to his operations, where he is clearly in the right, will tend to make him feel justified where he is as clearly in the wrong.

At the end of 1863, there were in the cotton districts one hundred and eighteen co-operative stores, with a paid up capital of £270,267, and they were receiving for goods sold £1,171,066 per annum, upon which they paid dividends amounting to about £87,000. There were also about fifty manufacturing companies,

whose nominal capital amounted to about £2,000,000, a large proportion of the shares in which had been subscribed by working men.

In 1861, the mortgages to building societies in Lancashire amounted to about £220,000. The bulk of this sum consists of deposits by the lower middle, and the upper stratum of the working classes; and when taken in connexion with the fourteen thousand and sixty-eight owners of the £3,800,498 in the savings banks, and about half a million sterling owned by about twelve hundred and fifty friendly societies, and probably half as much more owned by trades' societies, shows an amount of prudent forethought and practical frugality for which few people give the working classes credit; and which must be productive of important results.

CHAPTER VI.

Manchester in 1832—Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth on the Habits and Sanitary Condition of the Poor—Cellar Dwellings and Typhus—Causes of Pauperism—Improvements from 1832 to 1861—The Gasworks and Waterworks—The Public Parks—The Free Library—Progress of Liverpool from 1730 to 1863—The Docks and the Railway—Education Aid Society of Manchester—Secondary Education—The Union of Institutes, Lancashire and Cheshire.

Dr. J. P. Kay (now Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart.), writing in 1832, says of the home of the Manchester operative—"Home has little other relation to him than that of shelter—few pleasures are there—it chiefly presents to him a scene of physical exhaustion from which he is glad to escape. His house is ill-furnished, uncleanly, often ill-ventilated, perhaps damp; his food, from want of forethought and domestic economy, is meagre and innutritious; he generally becomes debilitated and hypochondriacal, and unless supported by principle falls the victim of dissipation. Those who are employed *in the process of spinning*, and especially of fine spinning (who receive a high rate of wages, and who are elevated on account of their skill), are more attentive to their domestic arrangements, have better furnished houses, are consequently more regular in their habits, and more observant of their duties than those engaged in other branches of the manufacture.

"The population employed in the cotton factories rises at five o'clock in the morning, works in the mills from six till eight, and returns home for half-an-hour or forty minutes to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee, with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely, used, and chiefly by the men; but the stimulus of tea is preferred, especially by the women. The tea is almost always of a bad and sometimes of a deleterious quality, the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lower rates of wages this meal generally

consists of boiled potatoes. The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish; melted lard and butter are poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. Those who obtain better wages, or families whose aggregate income is larger, add a greater proportion of animal food to this meal, at least three times in the week; but the quantity consumed by the labouring population is not great. The family sits round the table, and each rapidly appropriates his portion on a plate; or they all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour they are all again employed in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock, or even a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits, accompanied with a little bread. Oatmeal or potatoes are, however, taken by some a second time in the evening.

"The population nourished on this aliment is crowded into one dense mass in cottages separated by narrow, unpaved, and almost pestilential streets, in an atmosphere loaded with the smoke and exhalations of a large manufacturing city. The operatives are congregated into mills and workshops during twelve hours in the day, in an enervating heated atmosphere, which is frequently loaded with dust or the filaments of cotton, or impure from constant respiration, or from other causes. They are engaged in an employment which absorbs their attention, and unremittingly employs their physical energies. They are drudges, who watch the movements and assist the operations of a mighty material force, which toils with an energy ever unconscious of fatigue. The persevering labour of the operative must rival the mathematical precision, the incessant motion, and the exhaustless power of the machine. The state of the streets powerfully affects the health of their inhabitants; sporadic cases of typhus chiefly appear in those which are narrow, ill-ventilated, unpaved, or which contain heaps of refuse or stagnant pools. The confined air and noxious exhalations which abound in such places depress the health of the people, and on this account contagious diseases are also most rapidly propagated there. The records of the Manchester Fever Hospital prove that typhus *prevails almost exclusively* in such situations.

"The following table, arranged by the committee of classification appointed by the Special Board of Health, from the reports of the inspectors of the various district boards of Manchester, shows the extent to which the imperfect state of the streets of Manchester may tend to promote demoralisation and disease among the poor:—

No. of District.	No. of Streets Inspected.	No. Unpaved.	No. partially Paved.	No. Ill Ventilated.	No. containing Heaps of Refuse, Stagnant Pools, Ordure, &c.
1	114	63	13	7	64
2	180	93	7	23	92
3	49	2	2	12	28
4	66	37	10	12	52
5	30	2	5	5	12
6	2	1	0	1	2
7	53	13	5	12	17
8	16	2	1	2	7
9	48	0	0	9	20
10	29	19	0	10	23
11	0	0	0	0	0
12	12	0	1	1	4
13	55	3	9	10	23
14	33	13	0	8	8
Total.....	687	248	53	112	352

"In the districts which are almost exclusively inhabited by the poor, namely, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 10, among four hundred and thirty-eight streets inspected two hundred and fourteen were altogether unpaved, thirty-two partially paved, sixty-three ill-ventilated, and two hundred and fifty-nine contained heaps of refuse, deep ruts, stagnant pools, ordure, &c. No. 11 was not inspected.

"The replies to questions as to the condition of six thousand nine hundred and fifty-one houses showed two thousand five hundred and sixty-five which needed whitewashing, nine hundred and sixty needing repair, nine hundred and thirty-nine where the soughs were out of repair, one thousand four hundred and thirty-five damp, and two thousand two hundred and twenty-one which were without privies."

Speaking of the banks of the Irk, the same writer says:—"The houses of the poor sometimes surround a common area

into which the doors and windows open at the backs of the dwellings. Porkers who feed pigs in the town often contract with the inhabitants to pay some small sum for the rent of their area, which is immediately covered with pigstyes, and converted into a dung heap and receptacle of the putrescent garbage upon which the animals are fed, as also of the refuse which is now heedlessly flung into it from all the surrounding dwellings. The offensive odour which sometimes arises from these areas cannot be conceived."

The reader will probably be astonished to learn that in the metropolis of the cotton trade, and even during its most rapid progress, pauperism has progressed more rapidly than population; but when it is explained that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants are immigrants from other places, and that a large proportion of the immigrant population are helpless Irish, the wonder will cease. Dr. Kay enables us to present a table embodying the relative proportion of Irish cases without settlements, and of English and Irish cases with settlements, which came before the guardians in the four years, from 1827 to 1831, in the same districts, as set forth in the Special Board of Health Report, as given above :

Districts.	Nov., 1827, to Feb., 1828.		Nov., 1828, to Feb., 1829.		Nov., 1829, to Feb., 1830.		Nov., 1830, to Feb., 1831.	
	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.	Irish.	English.
Newtown: No. 2, and 3-5ths of No. 4.....	1,559	6,059	1,490	5,434	3,911	8,023	4,051	9,129
Ancoats: No. 1, and 2-5ths of No. 4.....	1,482	6,701	2,155	7,158	2,690	8,022	3,818	9,027
Central: Nos. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, and 1-4th of No. 8.....	366	7,422	532	7,161	742	9,668	909	10,210
Portland Street: Nos. 3, 7, 12, 13, and 3-4ths of No. 8...	264	6,864	577	6,974	1,186	8,591	1,114	7,580
Total.....	3,671	27,046	4,754	26,727	8,529	34,304	9,892	35,946

The above table showing an increase of unsettled poor of one hundred and sixty-six per cent, in a little more than three years, whilst the settled poor increased only thirty-three per cent,

sufficiently explains much of the increase of pauperism. The demand for juvenile labour, which prior to the passing of the Factories' Education Bill, often led parents to live in idleness upon the wages of their children, also rendered the children independent of paternal help, at an age when in other employments their wages would be quite insufficient for their support; and often led to the abandonment of parents in age and decrepitude to the scanty dependence of parish relief, and this practice frequently added to the permanent pauperism.

At this period the mortality of Manchester seems to have averaged for ten years about 35·22 per thousand, and the criminals throughout Lancashire were about one in four hundred and ninety-five of the population.

In 1834, inquiries by the statistical society showed that upwards of fifteen thousand of the two hundred thousand comprised in the population of Manchester, were living in cellars, and Dr. Kay says upon this subject—"The condition of a very large proportion of these dwellings beneath the level of unsewered streets, was to the last degree insalubrious—it was often pestilential. I have sometimes, as a dispensary physician, had to make my way to the bed of a patient suffering from typhus, by stepping from one brick to another, placed for my convenience on the flagged floor which was covered with some inches of water. This occurred to me twice in Little Ireland, where, on one of these occasions nearly a whole family perished of typhus. The cellars were inundated during a flood of the Medlock. It occurred also in 'Irish Town,' in the valley of the Irk; and, during the prevalence of cholera, I remember carrying away some bad cases in canvas slings on the shoulders of hospital bearers, from flooded cellars not far from Knott Mill."

Such was the picture of Manchester, as painted by an able and truthful artist in 1832. The place and the staple trade had grown so rapidly that there was no leisure to attend to much besides the production of wealth; and houses were hastily constructed, and people were huddled together pretty much as in a new colony, where taste and comfort, and even health itself, must all give way to the one great necessity of productive work.

Between that date and 1861 (according to Mr. D. Chadwick), the municipality of Manchester paved and drained, and flagged the footpaths of one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight

streets, measuring upwards of sixty miles in length, and covering about two hundred and five statute acres. Ninety miles of main sewers and forty-nine miles of cross sewers were also constructed, and twelve thousand nine hundred and forty-eight siphon traps were laid in connexion with them. In the adjoining borough of Salford, between the years 1844 and 1860, the paving, &c., of two hundred and thirty-two streets had been accomplished, at an expense of £61,546. Nearly one and a half millions sterling has been spent in Manchester, to improve the water supply; and a large area of the range of hills which divides Lancashire from Yorkshire, is now drained to supply eleven and a half million gallons of water, daily, in place of one and a half millions supplied in 1842, and the annual revenue of the corporation from this source has increased from about £22,400 to £72,000. More than a million sterling has during the same period been realised as profits from the gas works, and spent upon street improvements. In the seven years, from 1854 to 1861, the inspection of cellar dwellings had led to orders for the alteration of eleven hundred and twenty-three, and the closing of four hundred and fifty-four as unfit for human habitation.

In 1845 an agitation, originated by Mr. E. Watkin (now M.P. for Stockport), resulted in a subscription of about thirty-three thousand pounds, and the establishment of three public parks, of about thirty acres each, for the free use of the inhabitants of Manchester and Salford for ever.

The corporation of Salford shortly afterwards established a free museum and a reference library and reading room, in the Peel Park, which have become extensively useful; and in connection with the museum an annual free exhibition of pictures is held, and is visited during Whitsun Week and through the summer months by hundreds of thousands of visitors. Eighty thousand three hundred and nine persons passed through the museum in Whitsun Week, 1865.

In the year 1851 the author urged the establishment of a free lending library and mechanical museum in Manchester, and the then Mayor, John Potter, Esq. (afterwards Sir John Potter, M.P.), entered heartily into the project; a committee was formed and about twelve thousand pounds collected for the purpose, and thus the first free lending library under Mr. Ewart's Act was established

immediately after the passage of the bill. The proposed museum was given up because of the unsuitableness of the premises purchased. The reference library now contains thirty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one volumes of great value, and is daily resorted to by about one hundred and eighty readers; whilst branch lending libraries and reading rooms exist in various parts of the borough, and are all supported by a rate of one penny per pound upon the assessment.

The population of Manchester and Salford in 1801 was ninety-four thousand, in 1841 it was three hundred and eleven thousand, and in 1861 it was four hundred and sixty thousand, showing a progress in the latter twenty years of 47·79 per cent. The assessment rose during the same twenty years as follows :—

Borough of Manchester Assessment.

1841	£855,705
1861	1,477,489

Assessment, Township of Salford.

1841	£165,397
1861	195,406

Assessment of Enlarged Borough, 1865.

Township of Salford	£211,511
,, Pendleton	97,846
,, Broughton	81,598
Part of Pendlebury	3,149
	£394,104

There is still room for much improvement, and progress is still making, but it is satisfactory in the meantime to know that the death-rate of manufacturing towns is not necessarily much higher than in the non-manufacturing towns. In the registrar's return the deaths in one hundred and forty-two town districts are shown to exceed the rate in the country districts by four-tenths per cent only, from 1853 to 1862, the mean rate being 2·429. The deaths in Lancashire from June, 1861, to June, 1864, averaged 2·665 per cent per annum. In the township of Manchester during the same period they were 3·20 per cent; but that this rate is not dependent on the cotton trade is evident from the fact that in Ashton, where a much larger proportion are engaged in it, the deaths were only 2·44, and in Blackburn 2·5 per cent per annum during the same period.

The port of Liverpool owes its growth almost entirely to the cotton trade of Lancashire. The place is not even mentioned in Doomsday Book. In 1533 a house in Castle-street was rented at four shillings per annum, and the freehold of two others was offered for sale at ten pounds. Since 1845 no less than two hundred thousand pounds has been paid for the strand of the Mersey for the building of docks and warehouses. In 1699 Liverpool was constituted an independent parish. The following table, showing the later progress of the borough, is extracted from the *Financial Reformer Almanack* for 1865 :—

Year.	Houses.	Population.	Tonnage.	Dock Dues.
1730	2,430	12,074	18,070	£847
1760	5,156	25,787	—	2,330
1770	6,800	35,600	—	4,142
1790	8,865	55,732	—	10,037
1801	11,784	77,708	459,719	28,365
1811	16,162	94,376	611,190	54,752
1821	20,339	118,972	839,848	94,556
1831	27,361	205,572	1,592,436	183,455
1841	45,385	286,487	2,425,461	175,506
1851	59,556	376,065	3,912,506	282,912
1861	65,999	437,740*	4,977,272	444,417
1863	—	—	4,809,778	399,750

The author of "Passages of a Working Life" says Liverpool in 1828 "was in a state of transition. It was a place for commercial adventures of every kind. Twenty-two years only had passed since the rival of Bristol in the slave trade had a hundred and eleven vessels employed in that detestable traffic. When the Whigs during their short term of power effected its abolition, there were many who thought that the sun of Liverpool's prosperity had set. The cotton trade was to do a vast deal more for the great port of the Mersey than the trade in human flesh—far more than even its tobacco trade. But the commerce of Liverpool was in its infancy thirty-six years ago. Steam had surprisingly enlarged its traffic with Ireland, but no steam vessel had yet crossed the Atlantic. Canals had opened cheap communication with the great seats of manufacture ; but railways were not yet. * * * There were new docks forming, new streets and squares springing up all around the old town ; the first stone of a new custom house had just been

* Exclusive of between 12,000 and 14,000 seamen.

laid. * * * In Liverpool there was growth rapid and decided. On the opposite bank of the Mersey there was scarcely yet a promise of growth. * * * There was one work which for me had a fascinating interest—the tunnel of the railway, which was then in the course of formation. I saw the blasting of the solid rock near the shaft at which I entered. I was led on many wearisome paces to another shaft, at which I was to mount to daylight. I was far higher up the steep ascent than at my place of entrance. I had been walking in the tunnel beneath houses that stood as securely as before, sewers that still emptied themselves, gaspipes that still conveyed their unfailing light. Such a triumph of engineering was then a wonder. When it was proposed, wise men shook their heads. They were still doubtful whether the conveyance of goods could be cheapened by the railway to Manchester. It had not entered into the conception of the projectors of the railway that they could carry passengers a journey of thirty miles in an hour. The locomotive was as yet little more than a dream." Now (1865) the question is discussed why a passenger who walks to the booking office, and from thence to the train, and walks away at the end of the journey, cannot be carried at the same rate as a bale of goods, which needs collecting at one end of the journey, and delivering at the other.

At the present time, the tonnage of vessels entering inwards and clearing outwards at Liverpool exceeds that of the port of London. The tonnage of the three years, 1860-1-2, at London, was 16,733,096 ; whilst at Liverpool for the same period it was 16,893,336. According to the published accounts of the borough, upwards of £100,000 per annum has, since 1854, been spent upon paving and sewering alone. The value of alkali made in the United Kingdom is estimated at £200,000, one half of which is made in South Lancashire. These pictures of the progress of Manchester and Liverpool apply in various lesser degrees to the other manufacturing towns. Their progress has been achieved more recently; their crowding is less dense ; and their health is therefore better. But in many cases the cotton famine and the Public Works Act have given the first real stimulant to improvement ; and hereafter the Public Works Act will be recognised as the silver lining to the dark cloud which has for four years hung over Lancashire.

We have already intimated that in consequence of the great

demand for juvenile labour, education in Lancashire is a little below the average of the whole country; and the proceedings of the Education Aid Society of Manchester will show that there is yet much to be done before we can congratulate ourselves upon the intellectual position of the humbler classes. The society originated in a meeting held in February, 1864, and has since that date issued about twelve thousand school orders for the children of distressed families. The practice of the committee is to decline all applications where the income of the family reaches three shillings per head per week, exclusive of rent; whilst the average weekly income of the cases in which aid has been granted does not exceed one shilling and ninepence per head, exclusive of rent; and applications are still coming in at the rate of about two hundred per week. Many of these cases are of course due to the cotton famine, and will go off the books as soon as employment is plentiful; but about one-third are either the children of widows, or of wives who are worse than widows, being deserted by their husbands. About one-fourth of the orders issued are unused; some in consequence of the neglect of parents to send the children to school, and the apathy of teachers in not looking after them, when orders have been received; some in consequence of the want of decent clothing; and others because of the inability of the parents to pay the balance of the school fee where the society grants only a portion thereof. And the inquiries of the society seem to lead to the conclusion that, even apart from the offspring of drunken and vicious parents, who dissipate their means, and whose children it would certainly cost society far less to educate than, if that duty be neglected, it will hereafter cost to keep them as paupers or as criminals, there will still be plenty of work for the Education Aid Society. There are a great number of trades which may fairly be called pauper trades, for the wages earned at them can never enable a man to rear a family in independence. Street sweepers, nightsoilmen and policemen, hand-loom weavers and cotton dyers, street hawkers, strikers in foundries, minders of planing and drilling machines, railway porters, and the whole round of labourers, belong to this class; their wages varying from twelve to eighteen shillings per week. Deduct from this highest sum two shillings and sixpence for rent, and how can a man keep and clothe himself, wife, and four or five children on the remainder? Then we have to

add to this list the sickly and infirm of all trades, and the people of no trade, the camp followers of the great army of industry; and it becomes clear enough that a regular organisation and a regular source of income will be necessary to generalise primary instruction, and that even this will fail, unless accompanied by legal compulsion for the apathetic and the vicious.

In secondary education the Mechanics' and Literary Institutes are doing a good work. They open their doors to those whose primary instruction has been neglected, or who have wasted their early opportunities; and there is scarcely a populous village in Lancashire or Cheshire without one of these institutes, sometimes with paid and certificated teachers, sometimes under the conduct of honorary teachers, and sometimes on the mutual improvement principle.

They have all circulating libraries and reading-rooms; many of them possess classes for elementary, and a considerable number for scientific instruction. Latterly an effort has been made to associate these institutes for mutual help and mutual improvement by competitive examinations of their students. Three examinations are held annually—first, one in elementary subjects, upon papers sent down from a Central Society in London; second, in specific subjects, comprising mathematics, physical science, political economy, language, and literature, upon papers furnished by, and under the superintendence of, the Society of Arts in London; and third, in physical science, upon papers from, and in connexion with, the science department of the Committee of Privy Council. About one hundred and ten of these institutes are in union, and eighty-four of them comprise about eighteen thousand members, and have an annual income of about fourteen thousand six hundred and sixty pounds. During the cotton famine about five hundred and fifty persons have been admitted to these institutes, in the most distressed districts, without payments.

In East Lancashire six or seven of these institutes are formed into a sub-union, and employ itinerant teachers of science, who teach their specific subjects in all the institutes, and the distribution of prizes shows that their labour is productive of very good results. The council of the union for the two counties, meeting in Manchester, employs a visiting agent, whose duty it is to go round to all the institutes, to consult with the directors, to

examine the classes, and advise with the teachers; to bring as many as possible of the institutes into direct connexion with the Society of Arts, to multiply the science classes in connexion with the Committee of Privy Council, and generally to carry the excellencies of the best of the institutes into the whole of the union. The results of a year's work may be seen by the following table.

The subjects covered in the examinations are chemistry, geometry, animal and vegetable physiology, botany, mechanical and machine drawing, building construction, theoretical and applied mechanics, magnetism and electricity, acoustics, light and heat, geology, physical geography, elementary mathematics, mining and metallurgy, mineralogy and zoology; and the certificates earned in the government science classes have been as follows for the past two years, viz. :—

	1864.	1865.
First-class	68	46
Second-class	91	118
Third-class	128	212
Fourth-class	148	226
Fifth-class	122	251
	557	853

In the Society of Arts' examinations the certificates earned were—

	127	133

And in elementary subjects—

	69	172

And in the special subject, social economy, during the past year there have been earned two first and twelve second-class certificates.

If the possession of one of these certificates entitled the holder to the elective franchise on reaching the age of twenty-one years, the systems of examination would be made permanent and their area extended; an immense stimulus would be given to self-culture; and, in the course of a few years, a large number of intelligent men would be added to the electoral constituencies. Surely such a measure is worth the favourable consideration of all parties.

CHAPTER VII.

The American War—Democrats and Republicans—The "Dred Scott" Case—Progress of the Republicans from 1840 to 1860—Senator Douglas on Kansas—Election of Lincoln and Fall of Fort Sumpter—Feeling in England—Slavery and the Territories—The Abolition Proclamation—Misrepresentations of Lincoln—The End of the War—*Punch's* Recantation.

An attempt at secession by the Southern States of North America was long held by intelligent persons on this side of the Atlantic as probable, in the event of a republican being elected as President of the union. But so incomprehensible was the state of parties in America to, and so small the knowledge of the American Constitution by, Englishmen, that it is doubtful if one person in a million believed in the possibility of war, as arising out of a presidential contest. An American of the democratic party would be looked upon as an aristocrat in this country, because democrats as a rule upheld the doctrine of slavery, under which institution the owner had in his own hands under various circumstances, the power of life and death over his "chattels;" and before the war, exercised in elections the power of giving one vote for every three slaves possessed by him. The American democrat was also a great stickler for "state rights," that is to say, he denied the power of Congress, or the supreme central government, to interfere in any way with the constitution or laws of individual states, or with the proposed constitution of new states, except in so far as international matters are concerned. The American republicans are, on the other hand, mostly advocates for the abolition of slavery; and for the sovereign power of Congress over the constitution of new states seeking for admission into the union; and also over the territories out of which such new states must be formed. This republican doctrine, prior to the war, would therefore, whilst recognising slavery in existing states, have drawn a ring fence round the institution; and so, by preventing its extension, would have left it to exhaust

the soil already occupied, and so to die out. The abolitionists were, until within a very few years ago, looked upon as a fanatical but powerless body; and perhaps they might long have remained so, if the Southern representatives had been more moderate in their demands whilst in power. It is true that the abolitionists often put slave-owners to great expense by aiding the escape of their "property," and it was no doubt very annoying for a slaveowner to meet his chattel in the streets of a city in a free state, and not be able to carry it back and realize upon it. It was so strange that a step over the border line should convert a chattel into a man, and that what would be only correction or needful discipline on one side of a river, should be assault or murder on the opposite side. It was more than could be borne, and so the dominant party projected and carried the "Fugitive Slave Act," which required that escaped slaves should be restored by the free states to their owners. This measure did not cure the evil, but led to the establishment of "the underground railway" (secret escorts for slaves to Canada). The southern party were of course not satisfied, and sought for and obtained still further power. If not distinctly the law, it had been the universal practice, that if an owner took a slave into a free state, that action was considered equivalent to manumission. But in the now celebrated "Dred Scott" case, the Supreme Court decided that the constitution of the United States protected the property of the citizens wherever situate, and that as slaves were property, the possession of them must be protected. This decision, the crowning point, as it appeared to be, of the power of the slaveholder, was really the knell which pronounced his ruin. Nor is it wonderful that such a result should be produced, for practically, this ruling converted the whole union into one vast slave confederacy. If a man could take one slave into a free state, and still hold him in slavery, he could equally take a hundred; if he could hold a slave for a day in a free state, he could equally hold him for a lifetime; and therefore it rested only with the slaveowners, at their will, to annihilate every free state by importing slaves into them all.

The abolitionists in 1840 had cast seven thousand votes for Mr. J. G. Binney as President; in 1844, with the same candidate, they cast sixty-two thousand one hundred and forty votes. In 1848 they cast two hundred and ninety-six thousand two hundred

and thirty-two votes for Mr. Van Buren, and in 1856 they had risen to one million three hundred and forty-one thousand eight hundred and twelve for Mr. J. C. Fremont. Yet, unwarned by this progress, the slaveowners used their power to extort concessions, and thereby increased their enemies. In 1858, the late J. A. Nicholls, of Manchester, who had just listened to an address in the Senate at Washington by Mr. Douglas, on the admission of Kansas, wrote home as follows :—"With a fair chance of succeeding Mr. Buchanan, the senator (Douglas), believing himself secure with the South—where, from his previous able advocacy of state sovereignty, he has been a favourite—has endeavoured, by splitting hairs on Kansas, to curry favour with the North, and now finds that between the two stools he has come to the ground, and signed the death-warrant of his own political advancement. He has, most unfortunately, divided the democratic party, and thrown upon that section of it which belongs to the free states the onus of either deserting the Southern section or of standing forward as the advocate of slave institutions, necessarily fatal to its existence and influence on either issue. Mr. Douglas expected to be the nominee of the democratic party ; his own move has broken up that party, and strengthened the hands of the republicans. We may, therefore, expect that at the next election the democratic party will be defeated, and the republicans will come into power." And the democrats were defeated in 1860, by the election of Mr. Lincoln. The men of the Southern States could not be very much surprised at the result of the election, for they had carefully prepared themselves for ulterior measures, and were determined that if they could not rule by votes they would try what arms could do. It was reported that Mr. Lincoln was to be assassinated on his way to Washington to assume office, but the threat was looked upon as simply idle talk ; and even the fall of Fort Sumpter, great as was the result in America, caused very little emotion on this side of the Atlantic, for nobody believed in the possibility of war in North America. It seemed to be the universal opinion that either some agreement to continue the union would be arrived at, or that the Southern States would be allowed peacefully to set up a government of their own. When it became evident that peaceful secession would not be allowed, there was great rejoicing amongst some of the English aristocracy that "republican institutions had broken down;" whilst other persons

thought that civil war in America would be a good thing for England, because "it would lower the pride of the Yankees, and keep them from quarrelling with us;" and many professing Radicals found their faith in democracy oozing out, because universal suffrage had not prevented civil war. The first doctrine of Radicalism, they said, was the right of a people to self-government. They forgot that the seceding states were already self-governed, except in international matters, and that if a Southern Confederacy should be formed, each state in that confederacy would still be subject, in international matters, to a central authority. And the states had entered upon a compact which Mr. Lincoln's legal advisers declared could only be dissolved by a convention of the whole people; which convention, if appealed to at that time, would not certainly have decreed a dissolution of the union.

There is no doubt that the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Northern States believed that "ninety days" would be enough for the subjugation of the "rebels," and even those who were most opposed to war, and who as private citizens would have favoured peaceful secession, would, if they had been in office, have found it very difficult to have adopted any other course than the one which was taken by President Lincoln. He was sworn to maintain a constitution whose articles were headed with the title "perpetual," and whose last line repeated the title; and he was armed with all the executive power of the union for the purpose of fulfilling his oath. He was advised by his law officers that there was no liberty of secession in the constitution, and any laxity on his part to use the means in his hands for the maintenance of union would have rendered him liable to impeachment. He had clearly laid down his policy on assuming the executive power; he did not mean to interfere with slavery where it existed, but his influence would be exerted to keep it out of the territories. This, therefore, was the issue between North and South, whether or not slavery should be extended to the territories. And when a meeting took place to try and arrange the differences, the prominent, if not the only question discussed was, whether or not slavery should be allowed in the territories; the principal requirement of the South was "give us the territories," and the simple reply of the North was not to allow slavery for the territories. The principal abolitionists in America, and their most intelligent sympathisers in England

declared that the war was a war against slavery; and that the South so understood it was shown by every speech and every action; but in England some anti-slavery men denounced Mr. Lincoln for not openly declaring war against slavery, forgetting entirely the obligations of law upon the head of the executive government; whilst others accused his sympathisers of putting forward a sham plea for the war, and professing to fight for abolition, whilst the real struggle was "the South fights for liberty and the North for empire;" and, in proof of the sham, the opinion was freely expressed during the first two years of the war that if the South had chosen to go back to union, the North would have received them with open arms, slavery included. Both sides found their convictions strengthened by the abolition proclamation, which simply applied to the states in rebellion. The abolitionists hailed the measure with joy, as indicative of the determination of the President to use every proper means to achieve an object which was believed to be dear to him. Under the constitution he could not act against slavery where it existed, for he was bound to maintain that constitution, and it contained slavery, because it contained slave states; but the Southern States had by the act of war put themselves beyond the pale of the constitution; so far as the President had any power with them it was the power of a military commander-in-chief, a dictator against opponents in arms; and he used that power with a view to cripple the enemy, and advance the cause of abolition at the same time. His friends said that this measure sealed the doom of slavery, and would hand down his name to all generations as the great liberator; whilst his enemies declared the proclamation to be horribly cruel and hypocritical. They said it was intended to promote a servile war, intended to induce the slaves to murder innocent women and children; that being unable to subdue the Southern armies Mr. Lincoln had attempted to destroy the families of the citizen soldiers; and in England it was thought by many people to be proof enough of the hypocrisy of the President, that the proclamation was confined to the states where he had no practical power, whilst slavery was left untouched in those which remained loyal. The number of slaves who escaped during the struggle (estimated at one-and-a-half to two millions) showed the power of the proclamation, for apart from its issue they would have remained slaves at the end of the war; and the fact of

their escaping from, instead of killing the families of their owners, showed how groundless were the fears of a servile war. But the greatest justification of the wisdom of the proclamation is that it rendered an amendment of the constitution not only possible but necessary. The real truth probably is that Mr. Lincoln was a sincere abolitionist at heart, and that the South was well aware of that fact prior to his election. They saw also that the immense immigration into the Northern States would, in every succeeding election, put them and their peculiar institution into a continually more hopeless minority, and that slavery must either gradually die out, or they must seek an empire elsewhere. Apart from the attempt at secession, Mr. Lincoln would have confined his attention and have directed his power simply to the prevention of the spread of slavery in the territories. In the state of war it is probable that he would, at any time prior to the abolition proclamation, have received the submission of the South on the terms of the constitution, leaving slavery intact, and negotiating as to the destiny of those who had already escaped, or leaving them to be dealt with by the Supreme Court; but as the struggle grew fiercer, and the hope of early submission died away, he availed himself of his military power to deal a heavy blow at his antagonists, and to advance the cause of abolition. The proclamation took it out of the power of the law courts to deal with the escaped slaves—they could no longer be made the subjects of negotiation; whether the South submitted or not they were free, and free they would remain, subject only to such municipal control as their ignorance and helplessness rendered necessary.

The South had been offered amnesty on conditions, and had preferred war even if it went to extermination, and they were to be met on their own terms. Hitherto the North had tried only to beat them in the field, now they would try to take away their home support. The proclamation was understood by the slaves to mean: "Come to our lines and you are free," and it is sufficient proof of the value set by the negroes upon the boon that, during the four years of war, nearly two millions of them cast off their bondage; and it is the one great consolation for all the horrors of such a war—the end of which, prior to the evacuation of Richmond, no man could see, and the cost of which, in treasure and in life, no man can yet calculate—that this accursed institution will die; and that the

offspring of these four millions of negroes will achieve the dignity of manhood and womanhood, with the rights of paternity, maternity, and education, and will prove to the next generation what are their capacities for improvement.

But the end of the struggle is come, and the victory is achieved, after more than four years of such fierce strife, and such terrible slaughter, as the world never before witnessed. The last confederate general has capitulated, the last army is dispersed, whilst the clever and resolute Southern President—whose tact and determination had for four years so ruled eight millions of people, that to outsiders they appeared as one man, and who has, during the same time, found generals and soldiers able to keep at bay, and often to beat, greatly superior numbers—is now a prisoner, and together with his chief advisers is to be tried for high treason. English people and English newspapers take exception to the proceedings of the Federal authorities, and call for magnanimous and lenient treatment of the prisoners, but it would manifestly be very difficult to take any other legal course than the one which has been adopted. When a prisoner is taken, the only proper delivery is by means of trial, and for this also do the oaths of officials provide. It is possible, if not probable, that if war had not degenerated into assassination, by the perpetration of an act at which all civilised nations shuddered with horror, Mr. Davis and his staff might have been permitted to escape; but when he was so hotly pursued, he was believed to have with him the treasure of the Richmond banks, and also to have been privy to the conspiracy for the murder of Mr. Lincoln. When he has been tried, then, if convicted, it will be in the power of President Johnson to deal with him as he thinks proper, and it will certainly add to the lustre of the final victory, and tend also to the reunion of the states, if no useless blood be shed; if the leader of the rebellion, shorn of all power, be allowed for the term of his natural life, to exhibit in his own person the failure of all his hopes; and perhaps, before he dies, to recognise the improvement of the Southern States of the union under free labour.

With regard to the character and acts of the murdered President, much misunderstanding and misrepresentation existed in England. The newspapers told that as a boy he had struggled with hardships, that he had worked as an agricultural labourer, splitting rails for fences before he could read; and it was therefore

concluded that he must be an ignorant man. When during the first months of office, he hesitated occasionally before adopting important war measures, he was accused of vacillation and cowardice; when he had learned the extent of his power, and finding himself surrounded by traitors, who communicated his plans to the enemy before they were known to the Federal army, suspended the *habeas corpus*, to enable him to deal promptly with them, he was denounced as a cruel despot, who defied the constitution to which he had sworn; and when he issued the emancipation proclamation, the abuse culminated in the charge of cruelty and hypocrisy because he left slavery existing in the loyal states; and he was denounced as promoting the foulest of all crimes by inciting the slaves of the South to insurrection, and to the murder of the families of their owners. He was said to be drunken with power, made desperate by the failures of his armies, and to be prosecuting a hopeless war of extermination against his opponents. Gradually, yet speedily (for four short years completed the task), the outpourings of ignorant passion ceased, and the character of the upright, conscientious, careful, persevering man stood forth; and it was found that most of his acts were justified by the circumstances of the time; that he had religiously kept his oath, that his intelligence was far above the average; that he was generous to a fault; and that his death, which was intended to save the confederacy, was the real seal to its doom. The English press, when he could no longer read its comments, did him justice, but none so frankly as *Punch* confessed their former errors. He wrote his own recantation as follows:—

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

FOULLY ASSASSINATED, APRIL 14, 1865.

YOU lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,
You, who with mocking pencil wont to trace,
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face,

His gaunt, gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,
His lack of all we prize as debonair,
Of power or will to shine, of art to please.

You whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,
Judging each step, as though the way were plain :
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.

Beside this corpse, that bears for winding-sheet
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,
Between the mourners at his head and feet,
Say, scurril-jester, is there room for *you ?*

Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,
To lame my pencil and confute my pen—
To make me own this hind of princes peer,
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.

My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,
Noting how to occasion's height he rose,
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true,
How iron-like his temper grew by blows.

How humble yet how hopeful he could be :
How in good fortune and in ill the same :
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.

He went about his work—such work as few
Ever had laid on head and heart and hand—
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command;

Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,
That God makes instruments to work his will,
If but that will we can arrive to know,
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.

So he went forth to battle, on the side
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting mights—

The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,
The iron-bark, that turns the lumberer's axe,
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,

The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear—
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train :
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear
If but their stocks be of right girth and grain.

So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it : four long-suffering years'
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers,

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood :
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest,—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long-labouring limbs were laid to rest!

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,
Utter one voice of sympathy and shame!
Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high,
Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

A deed accurst! Strokes have been struck before
By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt
If more of horror or disgrace they bore;
But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out,

Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,
Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven;
And with the martyr's crown crownest a life
With much to praise, little to be forgiven!

CHAPTER VIII.

Incredulity about the American War—Test of Prices—The Paper Blockade—Speculations in Cotton—Stoppage of Mills—Rapid Increase of Pauperism—State of Ashton, Preston, Stockport, and Glossop, in February, 1862—Newspaper Comments—Free Labour Cotton—Outside Help for Operatives—Surat Cotton—A Month's Addition to the Recipients of Relief—Comparative Condition of Chief Unions in November, 1861 and 1862—Cotton Mills and Poor Rates—Condition of the Small Shopkeepers—Itinerant Singers—The Distress in France—North and South—Test Labour in Manchester.

Upon a population, containing half a million of cotton operatives, in a career of rapid prosperity, the profits of 1860 reaching in some instances from thirty to forty per cent upon the capital engaged; and with wages also at the highest point which they had ever touched, came the news of the American war, with the probable stoppage of eighty-five per cent of the raw material of their manufacture. A few wise heads hung despondently down, or shook with fear for the fate of "the freest nation under heaven," but the great mass of traders refused to credit a report which neither suited their opinions nor their interests. Whatever might be done amongst the despotisms of the Continent of Europe, members of the Anglo-Saxon family in North America would never fight; their fathers had expatriated themselves for the sake of freedom, religious and political; they had thrown off the yoke of the old country on account of unjust taxation, they had declared against all orders of nobility, and affirmed the equal rights of all to self-government; they might bluster and boast, and even destroy a few lives in a surface quarrel, but fight in real earnest they never would. Such was the very general feeling on this side of the Atlantic; and it was believed that even if they did fight, the South would still be very glad to sell their cotton, and that if our manufacturers went on carefully all would be well. There was a four months' supply held on this side the water at Christmas (1860), and there had been three months' imports at the usual

rate since that time, and there would be the usual twelve months' supply from other sources; and by the time this was consumed, and the five months' stock of goods held by merchants sold, all would be right again.

That this was the current opinion was proved by the most delicate of all barometers, the scale of prices; for during the greater part of the year 1861 the market was dull, and prices scarcely moved upwards. But towards the end of the year the aspect of affairs began to change, speculators in cotton were more than usually active, and the prices of raw material began to rise in the market without any corresponding movement for manufactured produce. The Federals had declared a blockade of the Southern ports, and, although as yet it was pretty much a "paper blockade," yet the newly established Confederate government was doing its best to render it effective. They believed that cotton was king in England, and that the old country could not do without it, and would be forced, in order to secure its release, to side with those who kept it prisoner.

Mills began to run short time or to close in the month of October, but no noise was made about it; and the only evidence of anything unusual was at the boards of guardians, where the applications had reached the mid-winter height three months earlier than usual. The poor-law guardians in the various unions were aware that the increase was not of the usual character—it was too early for out-door labourers to present themselves; still the difference was not of serious amount, being only about three thousand in the whole twenty-eight unions. In November, seven thousand more presented themselves, and in December the increase was again seven thousand; so that the recipients of relief were at this time twelve thousand (or about twenty-five per cent) more than in the January previous. And now serious thoughts began to agitate many minds; cotton was very largely held by speculators for a rise, the arrivals were meagre in quantity, and the rates of insurance began to show that, notwithstanding the large profits on imports, the blockade was no longer on paper alone. January, 1862, added sixteen thousand more to the recipients of relief, who were now seventy per cent above the usual number for the same period of the year. But from the facts as afterwards revealed, the statistics of boards of guardians were evidently no real measure of the

distress prevailing. The worst workmen, who would naturally be the first to fall out of employ, and the improvident—who, whatever the amount of their wages, are always penniless before the next pay day—would have no other resort; but the savings banks and the loan funds of co-operative societies were supporting many unwilling idlers; whilst the contingent funds of friendly societies were being drawn upon to keep good men in membership, by being used to pay their overdue subscriptions. The trade societies, which make allowances to members out of employ, were also supporting those of the machinists, the bricklayers, and the joiners, who, being usually employed in cotton mills, were thrown out by their stoppage. The month of February usually lessens the dependents on the poor-rates, for out-door labour begins again as soon as the signs of spring appear; but in 1862 it added nearly nine thousand to the already large number of extra cases, the recipients being now one hundred and five per cent above the average for the same period of the year. But this average gives no idea of the pressure in particular localities. If all local troubles could be averaged throughout the kingdom we should not have many heavy burdens to bear, but it is the pinching of the boot in particular spots which causes lameness, and it is no relief to be told that it is long enough or broad enough in general. At Ashton the excess of pauperism was two hundred and thirteen per cent, at Stockport two hundred and sixty-three per cent, at Blackburn two hundred and seventy per cent, at Glossop three hundred per cent, and in Preston no less than three hundred and twenty per cent of the usual amount.

Even these figures are defective as guides to the pressure of local distress, for they refer to unions; but poor-rates were not levied at the same amount throughout an union, but every separate township or parish levied for its own wants; and there is often a difference of two hundred to three hundred per cent in the amount of the poor-rate in the different townships of the same union. It is not wonderful, under these circumstances, that aid extraneous to the poor-law guardians should have been sought, and that benevolent persons who valued the independence and respectability of the operatives should have been found to organise soup kitchens, and to get up relief funds in the places where the pressure was heaviest. The cotton operatives were now, if left to themselves, like a ship's crew upon short provisions, and those very unequally

distributed, and without chart or compass, and no prospect of getting to land. In Ashton there were three thousand one hundred and ninety-seven; in Stockport, eight thousand five hundred and eighty-eight; and in Preston, nine thousand four hundred and eighty-eight persons absolutely foodless; and who nevertheless declined to go to the guardians. To have forced the high-minded heads of these families to hang about the workhouse lobbies in company with the idle, the improvident, the dirty, the diseased, and the vicious, would have been to break their heaving hearts, and to hurl them headlong into despair. Happily there is spirit enough in this country to appreciate nobility, even when dressed in fustian, and pride and sympathy enough to spare even the poorest from unnecessary humiliation; and organisations spring up for any important work so soon as the necessity of the case becomes urgent in any locality. Committees arose almost simultaneously in Ashton, Stockport, and Preston; and in April, Blackburn followed in the train, and the guardians and the relief committees of these several places divided an extra six thousand dependents between them. The month of May, which usually reduces pauperism to almost its lowest ebb, added six thousand more to the recipients from the guardians, and five thousand to the dependents on the relief committees, which were now six in number, Oldham and Prestwich (a part of Manchester) being added to the list. Pauperism at Oldham was now one hundred per cent in excess of the same period of 1861, whilst seventy-five per cent additional were dependent upon the relief committee; and, notwithstanding the action of these committees, the average pauperism of the whole of the twenty-eight unions in the cotton districts was one hundred and thirty-one per cent in excess of 1861.

The newspapers were loud and incessant in their denunciations of the apathy of the manufacturers in general, and especially so of the apathy of Manchester; and appeals from anonymous pens for help in the most distressed districts were almost continuous. In places where subscriptions had already been commenced, great indignation was expressed against a few well-known rich men, who discountenanced the proceedings, and refused to give. And the castigations of some of the newspapers, whose writers evidently knew but little of the subject, were very severe, because master spinners and manufacturers had not in years past turned cotton farmers, and

provided themselves with a staple, instead of depending upon the broken reed of slave institutions. How many of those writers, or the approvers of their articles, would, if all their capital was engaged at home and making a reasonable profit under their own superintendence, give up their own occupations, and invest and hazard it in distant lands, to be managed by strangers, in order to provide for a contingency which might never occur? Mr. Thomas Clegg, of Manchester, interested himself for many years to introduce cotton from West Africa, and regularly announced on his bill heads that he was prepared to supply cloths made of free-labour cotton. And how many applications does the reader suppose that gentleman had from the trade for free-labour calico during ten years? Not one! People want cheap calico; and to secure cheap calico manufacturers want cheap cotton, whether free or slave-grown; and it may safely be affirmed that, if the annihilation of slavery had depended upon the people of this Christian land paying knowingly one farthing per yard extra for free-labour calico, slavery would have gone on for ever. There are of course hundreds of thousands of individuals who would willingly submit to privations for so noble a purpose, if it was continually kept before them; but the essence of trade is profit, and extended markets are secured by cheapness, and therefore the pursuit of cheapness for profit supersedes every other motive in trade.

The month of June sent six thousand more applicants to sue for bread to the boards of guardians, and five thousand additional to the six relief committees; and these six committees had now as many dependents as the whole of the boards of guardians in the twenty-eight unions supported in ordinary years. The cry of distress which attracted most notice in the newspapers issued in the month of April from Wigan, where there was no relief committee at work until the month of July following. The population of the Wigan union is ninety-four thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, and the number of cotton operatives about eight thousand; the men of that town being principally employed as colliers. At the time of "A Lancashire Lad's" appeal to the Lord Mayor of London, pauperism was only some twenty-two per cent higher than at the same period in 1861, so that a local effort ought certainly to have borne the pressure at that time; for Preston was suffering far more severely, and as yet bore her own burden. Pauperism

was there three hundred and thirty per cent in excess of its usual amount, and seven hundred and sixty-three per cent in excess, if we include the numbers relieved by the locally formed committee.

The alarm of Mr. Whittaker was rather early, but the need was not far off, and to his efforts was owing the early help rendered by the Mansion House fund, from which was eventually distributed about half a million sterling.

In the month of July, when all unemployed operatives would ordinarily be lending a hand in the hay harvest, and picking up the means of living whilst improving in health and enjoying the glories of a summer in the country, the distress increased like a flood, thirteen thousand additional applicants being forced to appeal for poor-law relief; whilst eleven thousand others were adopted by the seven relief committees; Wigan being now added to the number, with seven thousand three hundred and fifty-eight recipients, representing nearly one-half of her operatives. Mr. Whittaker's cry had not been without cause, but the home response had not been so prompt as it ought to have been; but in that town, as in Manchester and elsewhere, pressure and proffered help from the outside had forced on the movement which was so politic and even so necessary. In August the flood had become a deluge, at which the stoutest heart might stand appalled. The increased recipients of poor-law relief were in a single month thirty-three thousand, being nearly as many as the total number chargeable in the same month of the previous year, whilst a further addition of more than thirty-four thousand became chargeable to the relief committees. An increase of nearly two hundred per cent of the ordinary distress at this season in one short month! How could any man with a knowledge of the facts, and any thought for the future, contemplate for a moment the laying of such a burden on the contributors to the poor-rates in the distressed districts? In Preston the pressure was now nearly one thousand one hundred per cent in excess of ordinary pauperism. More than twenty-seven per cent of the whole population absolutely without the means of procuring the commonest necessaries of life; one person in every three and a half met in the streets being without the possibility of earning a dinner, however willing and anxious for work. A large portion of the poor-rates of a district are paid by shopkeepers, and we know that shops increase so long as the

profits to be obtained will afford the merest living, after rent and taxes are paid; and the prudent man always calculates these liabilities to the utmost nicety before engaging in his enterprise. Thus rents adjust themselves to the trade and profits of a locality, and in a place where taxes are ordinarily high, rents are lower than they would otherwise be. Any sudden and serious increase of taxation, therefore, upsets the tradesman's calculations, and feeds the Court of Bankruptcy. Now the average distress of 1862, in Preston, would have required about eight times the ordinary poor-rate, for more than half the operatives were entirely out of work, and the remainder were not making above half time; and therefore, the wages and profits of the town, and the consequent receipts of the shopkeepers, would be reduced by from one-half to two-thirds. The returns for September showed a further addition of twenty-four thousand to the recipients of relief from the guardians, and thirty-seven thousand to the dependents on the various committees, which now numbered seventeen, the month of August having added Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Chorley, Garstang, Glossop, Haslingden, Macclesfield, and Rochdale to the list. Facilities for the formation of local committees were afforded by the central executive at Manchester, which was appointed in May, and was now getting slowly to work and trying to reduce the chaos of relief committees into something like working order. Distress throughout the whole of the unions was nearly seven hundred per cent in excess of the ordinary pauperism, and still the numbers of claimants were increasing by thousands per day.

Corn was cheap and plentiful in the land, and honest and skilful hands were ready to work and earn it; clothes were needed throughout the country, but they could no more be made without cotton than the Egyptians could make bricks without straw; corn could not be bought without something to give in exchange, and the usual medium was absent, and the labour and the corn could not, therefore, be brought together. Most of the cotton on hand at this period was of Indian growth, and needed alterations of machinery to make it workable at all, and in good times an employer might as well shut up his mill as try to get it spun or manufactured. But oh! how glad would the tens of thousands of unwilling idlers have been now, to have had a chance even of working at Surats, although they knew that it required much

harder work for one-third less than normal wages. Surat caused the neglect of the literary institutes, for the hands said that it was such incessant work to keep the ends pieced up, that they were fit for nothing but to go to bed when work was done, and hence the free memberships offered during the distress were not generally taken advantage of. Another month is past, and October has added to the number under the guardians no less than fifty-five thousand, and to the charge of the relief committees thirty-nine thousand more; *i.e.*, twice as many recipients added in one month as the total number chargeable a year before; and even Manchester feels the necessity of something more than the aid of the district provident society, which is supplementing the work of the guardians, for pauperism is six hundred per cent in excess of ordinary years. Three other relief committees have also been organised—Barton-upon-Irwell, Chorlton, and Salford.

The relief committees in Chorlton and in Salford had at this time about two thousand recipients between them. In Manchester, it would no doubt have been possible to have done without a relief committee, if it had not been desirable to save honest and proud workmen from the humiliation of appearing amongst the idle and the profligate before the Union Boards; but even in Manchester a double poor-rate would be a serious infliction upon small shopkeepers, and even more so upon small cottage owners, who frequently during the crisis found themselves without rent enough to pay the taxes demanded of them, and the repairs which were needed.

And now dread winter approaches, and the authorities have to deal not only with hundreds of thousands who are compulsorily idle, and consequently foodless, but who are wholly unprepared for the inclemencies of the season; who have no means of procuring needful clothing, nor even of making a show of cheerfulness upon the hearth by means of the fire, which is almost as useful as food. All surplus clothing has been sold or pledged during the summer to meet the pressing necessities of the time, and now a greater necessity arises, and there is no chance of independent provision for it. The month of November adds forty-four thousand to the dependents on poor-rates, and a like number to the cases of the twenty-three relief committees. The newly-organised districts of The Fylde, Leigh, and Todmorden having contributed nearly four

thousand to the recipients. Again, an addition in a single month of nearly twice the whole number usually chargeable to the guardians of the twenty-eight unions. The habit of poor-law guardians is to criticise keenly all the sources of an applicant's income, and to apply unpleasant tests to keep away as many as possible, and so to economise the expenditure of the rates; but here were tens of thousands of starving operatives, who would rather have sat upon cold hearths, through pinching wintry frosts, and have waited, brooding over their sorrows, till the sharp pangs of hunger drove them to desperation, than have passed through this ordeal. Sub-committees had to be appointed for every locality, and house-to-house canvassing was obliged to be done, as if for a contested election; and gossipy people had to be asked about the condition of their neighbours, in order to find out the respectable necessitous cases, and to bring them into connexion with the means of relief. By such means alone was Mr. Farnall enabled to report, that in the midst of the direst distress which the county of Lancaster ever saw, the health of the people had not materially suffered; and to the work of these visitors was no doubt owing the absence of famine fever; and to their perseverance thousands of persons in all probability owe the preservation of their lives.

The total number of persons chargeable at the end of November, 1862, was, under boards of guardians, 258,357, and on relief committees, 200,084; total 458,441; or eight hundred and sixty-four per cent throughout all the unions more than were chargeable at the same period in 1861, and they were more even at that time than usual, for mills had begun to close in the September previous. But, as already stated, the average pressure gives no adequate conception of the real state of affairs, for average poor-rates could not be laid, but each township must bear its own burden. The statistics of the central executive, which are made up for unions, do not adequately represent the full measure of suffering, for the law did not allow union rating, and only about one-half of the ordinary expenditure came out of the union common fund, nevertheless a reference even to the union pressure will be instructive and useful.

The following table is compiled from the returns of the honorary secretary, and will show the great contrasts exhibited by different unions:—

Relieved by Guardians, November, 1861.	Per Centages of Population	Relieved by Guardians and Relief Committees, November, 1862.
2·6	Warrington	4·5
3·8	Lancaster	4·7
2·5	The Fylde	5·0
3·05	Clitheroe	6·7
3·4	Blackburn	31·8
1·04	Glossop	35·9
1·4	Ashton-under-Lyne	41·8
4·3	Preston	47·5

Thus whilst in Warrington, Lancaster, The Fylde, and Clitheroe, where the cotton operatives are a very small portion of the population, the distress had only just doubled the ordinary number of recipients of relief; in Blackburn, Glossop, Ashton, and Preston they had increased from ten to forty times the numbers at the same period of the previous year. And if we look to the average of the whole year 1862, we find the recipients of relief to have been as follows:—Blackburn, 17·4; Glossop, 15·3; Ashton, 17·9; and Preston, 26·1 per cent of the population. Even if the extent of the pressure could have been foreseen, how would it have been possible to levy rates to meet such circumstances as these? Blackburn needed six times, Glossop fifteen times, Ashton sixteen times, and Preston six and a half times its ordinary rates for the purpose. How could cottage owners and shopkeepers have borne the demand? And what of the small employers, whom the previous five or ten years had enabled to commence business, and who now, by no fault of their own, but in obedience to a national policy, were thrown idle, whilst their machinery was rusting, and all fixed charges were going on just as if they were profitably employed? What would have become of them? The mills of the cotton districts pay no inconsiderable portion of the poor-rates, and whilst employed as in ordinary times can very well afford it; but now their machinery was motionless, the atmosphere which floated over them was as cloudless as in an agricultural district; their busy hum was changed to solitude, but the taxes to be paid by their occupiers were doubled, tripled, quadrupled; nay, even multiplied ten, in some cases fifteen times.

The following return of the assessments upon mills in the cotton districts, exclusive of The Fylde, Garstang, Macclesfield, Saddleworth, and Skipton, was obtained in 1861:—

AMOUNT OF ASSESSMENTS TO POOR RATE.

Cotton mills rated at less than £500 per annum each . .	£265,362
,, ,, above £500, and under £1,000 . .	204,939
,, ,, ,, £1,000, ,, £2,000 . .	167,392
,, ,, ,, £2,000, ,, £3,000 . .	49,489
,, ,, ,, £3,000, ,, £5 000 . .	35,596
Add for sixty or seventy small mills, not included in return, say	10,000
	£732,778

The total assessment of the unions included in the above returns was, at the same date, £5,451,618; so that the mill property exceeds thirteen per cent of the whole; and if we add to the above amount the assessments upon cottages owned by employers, it may safely be said that the whole will amount to fifteen per cent of the total assessment for poor-rates, and of course in the chief towns the per centage is much higher. It will also be seen from the above statement that more than one-third of the whole of the mill property consists of small establishments rated under five hundred pounds per annum each, and the owners of these establishments will comprise more than one-half of the employers. It will be evident, therefore, that the majority of employers in the cotton manufacture are like employers elsewhere, not men rolling in wealth but hard-working struggling tradesmen; living and working for the most part from hand to mouth, or accumulating, by a long course of industry, moderate fortunes; that only the few here, as elsewhere, rise to eminence and acquire great wealth; and even in these cases it is often by speculations, in which much capital is risked, and which turn out ruinous almost as frequently as prosperous. A further illustration of the position of the majority of the employers will be obtained by reference to the numbers of mills assessed at the various rates. The total number of mills included in the above return is one thousand seven hundred and eleven—of these one hundred and sixty-seven are assessed at from £1,000 to £1,500, and eighty-one at various sums exceeding £1,500, so that only two hundred and forty-eight employers are assessed at sums exceeding £1,000.

It is hard to have to suffer without being conscious of any fault to deserve it; terribly hard for honest and willing workers to see their little ones crying for food, and to have no chance of earning it for them. Here were nearly half a million of people, industrious, prosperous, and for the most part happy, suddenly struck as

it were with paralysis, and rendered thoroughly helpless. Effort on their part was useless, for the cause of the disease was far beyond their reach, whilst the only safe remedy would require years of exertion, with a large expenditure of time and money, and meanwhile much and patient waiting and suffering must be endured.

There were not wanting men who saw, or thought they saw, a short way out of the difficulty, viz., by a recognition on the part of the English government of the Southern Confederacy in America. And meetings were called in various places to memorialise the government to this effect. Such meetings were always balanced by counter meetings, at which it was shown that simple recognition would be waste of words; that it would not bring to our shores a single shipload of cotton, unless followed up by an armed force to break the blockade, which course if adopted would be war; war in favour of the slave confederacy of the South, and against the free North and North-west, whence comes a large proportion of our imported corn. In addition to the folly of interfering in the affairs of a nation three thousand miles away, the cotton, if we succeeded in getting it, would be stained with blood and cursed with the support of slavery, and would also prevent our getting the food which we needed from the North equally as much as the cotton from the South. The advocates of recognition were reminded that the loss of wages to the cotton operatives was at the rate of from ten to eleven millions sterling per annum, whilst two years war with Russia cost us about a hundred millions of money, and from thirty to forty thousand lives, and that self-interest and honour alike demanded our perfect neutrality. These meetings and counter meetings perhaps helped to steady the action of the government (notwithstanding the sympathy of some of its members towards the South), to confirm them in the policy of the royal proclamation, and to determine them to enforce the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act against all offenders.

During the rapid decrease of employment, and before the general absorption into sewing and disciplinary schools, many shifts were resorted to by the workpeople to eke out a living. One of the most common amongst those who were fond of music was singing in the streets of large towns. The special correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner and Times* thus describes them in the streets of Manchester:—

"Now, when fortune has laid such a load of sorrow upon the working people of Lancashire, it is a touching thing to see so many workless minstrels of humble life 'chanting their artless notes in simple guise' upon the streets of great towns, amongst a kind of life they are little used to. There is something very touching, too, in their manner and appearance. They may be ill-shod and footsore; they may be hungry, and sick at heart, and forlorn in countenance, but they are almost always clean and wholesome-looking in person. They come singing in twos and threes, and sometimes in more numerous bands, as if to keep one another in countenance. Sometimes they come in a large family all together, the men with their different musical instruments, and the females with hymn books. The women have sometimes children in their arms, or led by the hand; and they sometimes carry music books for the men. I have seen them, too, with little handkerchiefs of rude provender for the day. Their faces are sad, and their manners very often singularly shame-faced and awkward; but any careful observer would see at a glance that these people were altogether unused to the craft of the trained minstrel of the streets. Their clear, healthy complexion, though often touched with pallor, their simple, unimportunate demands, and the general rusticity of their appearance, shows them to be

> "Suppliants who would blush
> To wear a tattered garb, however coarse;
> Whom famine cannot reconcile to filth;
> Who ask with painful shyness, and refus'd,
> Because deserving, silently retire.

"The females, especially the younger ones, generally walk behind, blushing and hiding themselves as much as possible. I have seen the men sometimes walk backwards, with their faces towards those who were advancing, as if ashamed of what they were doing. And thus they go wailing bashfully through the busy streets, whilst the listening crowd looks on them pityingly and wonderingly, as if they were so many hungry shepherds from the mountains of Calabria. This flood of strange minstrels has partly drowned the slang melodies and the monotonous strains of ordinary street musicians for a while. The professional gleeman has 'paled his ineffectual fire' before these mournful songsters. I think there never was so much sacred music heard upon the streets of Manchester as during the last few months. With the exception of a

favourite glee, now and then, their music consists chiefly of fine psalm tunes,—often plaintive old strains, known and welcome to all, because they awaken tender and elevating remembrances of life. 'Burton,' 'French,' 'Kilmarnock,' 'Luther's Hymn,' the grand 'Old Hundred,' and many other fine tunes of similar character have been floating in the air of our city, almost daily, for weeks gone by. I am sure that this choice does not arise from the minstrels themselves having craft enough to select 'a mournful muse, soft pity to infuse.' It is the kind of music which has been the practice and pleasure of their lives, and it is a fortuitous thing that, now, in addition to its natural plaintiveness, the sad necessity of the times lends a tender accompaniment to their simplest melody. I doubt very much whether Leech's minor tunes were ever heard upon our streets until lately. Leech was a working man, born near the hills, in Lancashire; and his anthems and psalm tunes are great favourites among the musical population, especially in the country districts. Leech's harp was tuned by the genius of sorrow. Several times lately I have heard the tender complaining notes of his psalmody upon the streets of the city. About a fortnight ago I heard one of his most pathetic tunes sung in the market-place by an old man and two young women. The old man's dress had the peculiar hue and fray of factory upon it, and he had a pair of clogs upon his stockingless feet. They were singing one of Leech's finest minor tunes to Wesley's hymn :—

"And am I born to die,
To lay this body down?
And must my trembling spirit fly
Into a world unknown?

A land of deepest shade,
Unpierced by human thought;
The dreary region of the dead
Where all things are forgot.

"It is a tune often sung by country people in Lancashire at funerals; and, if I remember right, the same melody is cut upon Leech's gravestone in the old Wesleyan Chapel yard, at Rochdale. I saw a company of minstrels, of the same class, going through Brown-street the other day, playing and singing:

"In darkest shades, if Thou appear,
My dawning is begun.

"The company consisted of an old man, two young men, and

three young women. Two of the women had children in their arms. After I had listened to them a little while, thinking the time and the words a little appropriate to their condition, I beckoned to one of the young men, who came 'sideling' slowly up to me. I asked him where they came from, and he said 'Ash'n.' In answer to another question, he said, 'We're o' one family. Me an' yon tother's wed. That's his wife wi' th' chylt in her arms; an' hur wi' th' plod shawl on's mine.' I asked if the old man was his father. 'Aye,' replied he, 'we're o' here, nobbut two. My mother's ill i' bed, an' one o' my sisters is lookin' after her.' 'Well, an' heaw han yo getten on?' said I. 'Oh, we'n done weel; but we's come no moor,' replied he. Another day, there was an instrumental band of these operatives playing sacred music close to the Exchange lamp. Amongst the crowd around, I met with a friend of mine. He told me that the players were from Stalybridge. They played some fine old tunes, by desire, and, among the rest, they played one called 'Warrington.' When they had played it several times over, my friend turned to me and said, that tune was composed by a Rev. Mr. Harrison, who was once minister of Cross-street Unitarian Chapel, in Manchester. And, one day, an old weaver who had come down from the hills, many miles, staff in hand, knocked at the minister's door, and asked if there was a 'gentleman co'de Harrison lived theer?' 'Yes.' 'Could aw see him?' 'Yes.' When the minister came to the door, the old weaver looked hard at him, for a minute, and said, 'Are yo th' mon 'at composed that tune co'de Warrington?' 'Yes,' replied the minister, 'I believe I am.' 'Well,' said the old weaver, 'gi' me yor hond! It's a good un!' He then shook hands with him heartily again, and saying 'Well; good day to yo!' he went his way home again, before the old minister could fairly collect his scattered thoughts."

The distress was most intense in Lancashire, because of the great concentration of the trade in that county, and because the heavy portion of goods are made almost exclusively there; but the cotton manufacturing districts of France suffered in a similar manner, and the difficulty had there also to be met by similar charitable efforts.

The municipal council of Rouen made a subscription at the end of 1861 (before any step was taken in this country), and in

November, 1862, a new fund was subscribed, under the auspices of the president of the Chamber of Commerce, and the president of the Tribunal of Commerce ; and a circular was issued, appealing to the benevolence of the public. From it we learn that one hundred thousand persons were then dependent, and were expected to increase to one hundred and fifty thousand. "On all sides, in the cities, in the villages, and in the country districts, painful complaints are being heard, and the communes have come to their last resources. The small shopkeeper is at the end of his means and credit, and the master cannot continue an impossible labour." The committee announced that it would receive gifts of all kinds, and employ a portion for works of public utility, in order to give the speediest possible satisfaction to the laborious habits of the workmen, in order to preserve for them that moral dignity which deserves the esteem of all, and in order to render fruitful for the country the sacrifices which each imposes upon himself, by coming to the aid of misfortune.

The Times, in its second notice of "Lancashire Distress," after the publication of the balance sheets of the Poor Law Unions, up to Michaelmas, 1862, seemed to support the view of Professor Kingsley, that the poor-rates were not sufficiently relied upon. The article quoted the average number of out-door paupers relieved during twenty-six weeks, as one hundred and nine thousand, at one shilling and twopence three farthings weekly per head, or in round numbers, as £6,750 weekly, and reminding its readers that the number had increased to more than two hundred and thirty thousand, left them to make their own calculations for the future.

If averages were worth anything in the calculation, and the public could have been assured that the distress had reached its culminating point at Michaelmas, 1862, the reasoning could not have been objected to, but the dependents upon guardians and relief committees in the last week in September exceeded *The Times*' maximum by more than forty thousand, and before the end of the year more than doubled the numbers named in the article alluded to, whilst the allowances were considerably augmented to provide for the winter, and were then supplemented in tens of thousands of cases by relief committees. Our facetious friend Mr. Punch, who is not slow to lay his scorpion whip upon the backs of deserving

sinners, and who sometimes, in his anxiety to prevent wrong-doing, castigates the innocent, saw the matter in rather a different light, and wrote—

HANDS AND HEARTS.

NORTH.

There are hands by hundred thousands
  In the crowded North,
Empty, idle, yet for labour,
  Not for alms, stretched forth.
Hands all thin and white and bloodless,
  Free from stain or soil,
Hands struck helpless, yet so willing
  If they could to toil!

Hands that failing fitting labour,
  Cannot long forbear,
Or to clench in desperation,
  Or to fold in prayer.
Whirr of working wheels is silent,
  Chimneys smoke no more:
Famine and her sister Fever
  Knock at every door.

SOUTH.

Here are hearts by hundred thousands
  Full of ruth and pain,
Till those hands struck sudden idle
  Are at work again.
Humble hearts whose mite is ready,
  Hungrier mouths to feed:
Haughty hearts brought low by thinking
  Of their brothers' need.

Hearts that only seek for channels
  Wherein best may go
All these streams of human kindness
  Charged to overflow.
Then to work through clay and gravel,
  Dull rock, thirsty sands,
From these brimming hearts make passage
  To those failing hands.

On 7th December, Mr. Farnall reported to the central executive that for the last eight weeks the out-door relief alone had cost £13,734. 2s. 4d. per week, whilst the weekly expenditure of the relief committees was £19,157. 6s. 4d., or nearly five and a half times as much as the sum quoted by *The Times* at Michaelmas. The then rate of expenditure, compared with that of the previous year, gave the following results as to the assessment required in each of the following places:—

	October and November, 1862.		The year 1861.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Ashton-under-Lyne	11	4¾	0	7
Blackburn	7	7½	1	0
Burnley	5	4½	0	9¾
Bury	4	6	0	8¾
Glossop	12	8½	0	7¾
Haslingden	9	3¼	0	6½
Manchester (township)	5	8¼	1	0¼
Oldham	8	2½	0	9½
Preston	8	2	1	1¼
Rochdale	6	5¾	0	8¾
Stockport	6	8⅛	0	8⅞
Todmorden	6	4¾	0	10⅞

In addition to the allowances of the guardians the relief committees were spending one and a half times as much, so that the real pressure at that date is represented by the above sums, multiplied by two and a half. And still no ray of light broke through the dense cloud which shut out the future; no prospect of the end of the fratricidal struggle in America, whilst there was deep disappointment as to the anticipated great increase of raw material from India; the unemployed were still increasing by tens of thousands per week, and to prevent them from growing desperate, were obliged to be drafted into elementary schools, and set to teach each other, under superintendence, like children. These schools lasted two and a half years, and varied in their attendants from four thousand three hundred and seventy-nine in November, 1862, to one hundred and thirty-five thousand six hundred and twenty-five at the highest point in March, 1863, and lingered on till the end, when, in June, 1865, there were still one hundred and one men and boys, and five hundred and forty-seven women and girls in attendance. Of this total of six hundred and forty-three, five hundred and thirty-six were in the district of Ashton-under-Lyne.

In the month of December, 1862, the total numbers relieved were—by the guardians, 250,588; and by relief committees, 236,207—total, 485,434 persons, or twenty-four per cent of the whole population of the district. Philanthropists who are anxious to improve the condition of society, have for many years made a stock argument of the fact that twenty thousand persons rise in London every morning who do not know how or where they will

breakfast; what would these gentlemen say if, by some sudden calamity, this army of outcasts should be multiplied by three hundred and seventy-five, so that almost every fourth person met in the crowded Strand or in bustling Cheapside should be in that pitiable position? What would the House of Commons say to any request from such a crowd of petitioners; would it not be to ask and have? Yet the same proportion of the inhabitants of the cotton districts were, for months, in this terrible plight; and with the exception of the riots at Stalybridge, not a single serious breach of the peace occurred. Complaints enough there were, especially before the central executive had got thoroughly to work, but they were all directed against the "labour test" of the poor-law guardians.

At a meeting of operatives held in Stevenson Square, Manchester, 26th June, 1862, Mr. Thomas Evans, of Manchester, proposed the following resolution:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that it is unwise and unjust to compel honest working men to perform that kind of labour which common felons are required to perform, because it is neither advantageous nor wise, but totally opposed to the true interest of society; and the tendency of such a course of policy, if continued, will be to demoralise and weaken the noble independence of the people, which is the glory and honour of this great nation." He did not object to a labour test; but he did object to that species of labour which degraded a man. He complained most particularly of the mode of grinding corn in the workhouses. The men who were put to the work had to do a certain portion in a day; they did not see the corn measured before it was put into the mill; neither could they see it while they were grinding; they were put into a kind of box where they could see nothing but the ceiling, and knew nothing of the progress of the work, or the tricks that an unjust overlooker might serve them. As at present dispensed, the poor-law was a law to keep the poor, poor.

Mr. Job Billcliffe, Manchester, seconded the motion. He contended that every man ought to have pay commensurate with the labour performed; the system at present adopted was to get as much labour out of a man as possible, at a cost of the smallest amount of relief, in the shape of victuals or money.

The resolution was passed.

Mr. J. Finnigan moved the next resolution:—"That this

meeting is of opinion that the relief at present given by the Manchester board of guardians is totally inadequate to meet the wants of the people in the present crisis; therefore, it is expedient to form committees immediately in every ward, for the purpose of finding out all those really deserving cases who are silently suffering the pangs of hunger, and to do all that is possible to raise funds in their behalf. The meeting also trusts that the central relief committee of the gentlemen of Manchester will further this benevolent movement by their advice and generous subscriptions." He believed that they had not yet arrived at the worst; and that it was most important for immediate steps to be taken for the relief of the suffering poor. He endorsed almost every word uttered by the two preceding speakers in reference to the labour test—its impolicy, its immorality, and the cruelty of the infliction.

The Mr. Thomas Evans, who moved the first resolution at this meeting, was sent on a deputation to the guardians, and there threw out the suggestion, which was afterwards so extensively adopted, first by the guardians of the parish of Manchester, and afterwards by the various relief committees, to establish the school instead of the labour test. It is certain that before many months had passed over, the labour test would have broken down, from the sheer impossibility of finding work for the great army of dependants; but none the less credit is due to the man who pointed a way out of the difficulty, early enough to prevent the chaos and the danger to public security which must otherwise have come to pass.

CHAPTER IX.

Progress of Preston, 1851-61—Condition in May, 1862—Organisation of Relief Committee—Visits to the Poor—The Soup Kitchen—Out-door Work for the Guardians—Increase of Blackburn—Large Proportion of Small Employers—Condition of Co-operative Stores and Joint-Stock Companies—The Political Relief Committee—Specimens of Paupers—Mr. Farnall's Report—Condition of Wigan—Visit to Amy Lane—Stockport To Let—Operative Beggars—Lord Egerton and the Public Works—Mr. Farnall on the State of Ashton.

In the ten years ending 1861 the population of the Preston union increased fourteen per cent, and that of the borough nineteen per cent. Of this population thirty-two per cent of the adults were engaged in the cotton manufacture, and twenty-two per cent in mechanical arts and trades, and in domestic service. In May, 1862, there were twelve thousand and seven looms idle, out of a total of twenty-seven thousand one hundred and forty-eight, whilst about eight thousand others were working only three or four days per week. Out of one thousand two hundred and sixty-seven mules, six hundred and four were standing, and three hundred and eighty-two working short time. The number of hands out of employment was given at this date, by the relief committee, as ten thousand seven hundred and thirty-one; who, with their dependants, would amount to about twenty-two thousand persons. The out-door paupers in 1861 were three thousand one hundred and seventy; whilst in April, 1862, they had risen to ten thousand eight hundred and ninety-five, being an increase of two hundred and forty-three per cent, and they were still rapidly increasing; and the relief committee's books contained at the same date the names of nearly seventeen thousand persons. Many of these were cases where the guardians' relief was supplemented, and it is therefore difficult to get at the total number who were in receipt of relief. The board of guardians were actively promoting employment for their dependants, and had about one thousand men at work levelling and improving "the moor," one hundred

at "the marsh," and one hundred and fifty at the "stone yard." The approach to Preston by railway from Manchester is very beautiful, and the labour of the cotton operatives has added in no small degree to its interest, by laying out a large plot of land on the river bank as public walks and gardens; and admirers of the Ribble scenery in future generations will remember with pleasure the gift of the benevolent donor, and the work of the poor victims of the cotton famine. These men were working each two days' per week at one shilling per day; and this labour, by making them feel that they were usefully occupied, kept up their spirits, and made them bear their privations even with cheerfulness. The men of Preston knew how to bear trouble, for in 1856 they had inflicted half-a-year's starvation upon themselves and families by a strike, during which they did not fare even so well as at the present time under the relief committee and the poor-law guardians.

About £17,000 had been withdrawn from the savings bank since November, 1861; and the self-acting mule spinners and winders trades' society had distributed about £700 amongst their own members. The relief committee commenced its work in February, and in May the local subscription had reached £7,500, the names of four of the richest inhabitants being absent from the list. A volunteer band of one hundred and twenty visitors was organised, and the borough being divided into wards, a complete system of visitation was established and carried on.

A spinning and manufacturing company, with a nominal capital of £20,000, was commenced in 1861. About £14,000 was subscribed for, principally by working men, up to Christmas, and the shares were then being taken at the rate of ten or twelve per month; but in five months afterwards only four shares were taken, and the payments upon those already subscribed were obliged to be wholly suspended.

The co-operative store received, in March, 1862, about £160 per week, and in May had fallen to £100 per week. A reading-room at this store, well supplied with newspapers and periodical literature, was opened freely to all visitors, and served a very good purpose to the unemployed. The receipts at the London Road store had fallen from £43 to £33 per week. The Oddfellows were paying the subscriptions of their defaulting members by drawing upon their contingent funds; whilst the Foresters were suspending

subscriptions entirely. Some of the lodges of Druids had not money to pay their sick members. The burial societies were all suffering heavily in their subscriptions, so that in the event of death it very frequently happened that any funeral allowance was a pure honorarium. The special correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner* gives some characteristic anecdotes of the experience of the relief committee. A visitor called upon a destitute family, and found the man sitting alone, pale and silent. His wife had been "brought to bed" three days before, and the visitor inquired how she was getting on. "Hoo's very ill," said the husband; "and the child, how is it?" said the visitor. "It's deed," replied the man; "it deed yesterday." He then rose and walked slowly into the next room, and returned with a basket in his hand, in which the child was decently laid out. "That's o' that's laft on it neaw," said the poor fellow. Then putting the basket on the floor, he sat down with his head between his hands, looking silently at the corpse.

The loss of infant life is large in our manufacturing towns in the best of times; but experience alone can realize the deep melancholy of the strong man, who without active occupation, sees the partner of his life passing through nature's sternest trial, when he is totally unable to supply even ordinary comforts; and with thorough independence of spirit finds himself helplessly cast upon a charitable dole, for the crumbs which support life, and even for the decencies of burial for his dead.

The visitor called on a family of ten persons, where four children were under ten years of age, and five were capable of working, and when all were in employment, the joint income was sixty-one shillings per week. This family had been dependent on relief at five shillings per week, for nine weeks. When the visitor called, the weakly wife and one or two daughters were washing in the inner room, and the whole place had a tidy, clean look, although it was washing day. The mother had suffered severely from inflammation, and yet, in spite of long-continued ill health and the iron tooth of poverty, there was rarely seen a more frank and cheerful countenance than that thin matron's, as she stood wringing her clothes and telling her little story. The house belonged to their late employer, whose mill had stopped some time ago. Being asked how they managed to pay the rent, she replied "why we

dunnot pay it, and we connot pay it, and he doesn't push us for it. Au guess he knows he'll get it sometime. But we ow'n a deal o' brass beside that. Just look at this shop book. Au'm noan freetened at onybody seein my accownts. An' then there's a great lot o' doctor's bills i' that pot theer. Thoose are o for me. Ther'll ha' to be some wark done afore things con be fotched up again. Eh! aw'l tell yo what, it went ill again th' grain wi' my husband, to goo afore th' board; an' when he did goo he wouldn't say so mich. Yo known folk doesn't like brastin' off abeawt theirsel o at once, at a shop like that. Au think sometimes it's very weel that four ov eawrs are i' heaven—we'n sich hard tewin (toiling) to poo through wi tother just neaw. But aw guess it'll not last for ever." A visitor called upon a family where no application for relief had been made, but some of the neighbours had said they were "ill off." The visitor finding them perishing for want, offered some relief tickets, but the poor woman began to cry, and said "Eh! aw dar not touch 'em; my husban' would sauce me so! Aw dar not tak 'em; aw should never yer th' last on't." In a dirty pent up corner of a dark and damp entry, a low door stood open; it led into a low, gloomy-looking hovel, not more than three yards square, and without fire in the grate. No sunshine could ever reach there, nor any fresh breezes disturb the pestilent vapours that were festering in the sluggish gloom. In one corner, a little worn and broken stair led to a room of the same size above, where there was some straw for the family to sleep upon. The furniture consisted of two rickety chairs and a little broken deal table, reared against the stairs because one leg was gone. A quiet looking, thin woman, of fifty years of age, sat there. She had buried five children, and had now six living with her in that poor place. They had no work and no income whatever, except from the relief committee. The poor widow pointed to the cold corner where her husband had lately died. She said "he had been oot o' wark a long time afore he deed."

A call was made at a little provision shop, where the stock consisted of a mug of buttermilk and four or five glass bottles, and the shop furniture of two or three deal shelves, and a doleful little counter. The family consisted of man, wife, and five children. The man was a spinner, and the wife had managed the little shop. Just before short-time working, four of their children had been ill

for months, and one of the lads had lost two fingers at the factory, and so been disabled. The shop stuff had oozed away, partly on credit to the neighbours, and partly to live upon themselves, until at last they were forced to apply for relief. After they had been on the parish for a few weeks some envious neighbour had reported that the stock had been sold, and the money banked, and had thus robbed them of a fortnight's allowance, until the calumny was inquired into and refuted.

Another call was upon an Irish family, seven in number. The mill at which they used to work had been stopped about ten months. One of them had found about three months' work elsewhere, and the old man got a few days' work occasionally. For ten months past they had been relieved at the rate of five shillings per week, and this sum, with the little occasional work, and the sale of the furniture piecemeal, had formed their dependence. At the time of the visit, there was not a vestige of furniture in the cottage, except the chair upon which the old woman was sitting. In reply to a question she said—"I did sell the childer's bedstead for two shillings and sixpence, an' after that I sold th' bed from under 'em for one shillin' and sixpence, just to keep 'em from starvin' to death. The childer had been two days without mate then, an' faith I couldn't bear it ony longer." The visitor had called regularly for sixteen weeks, and on this occasion saw a fire in the place for the first time. One family of operatives were all fervent lovers of music; and, whilst in full work, had scraped up money for a piano, and they clung to it to the last, and were advised by the committee not to sell it; but, after a long struggle, it went after the remainder of the furniture—the mental solace gave way to provide bodily sustenance.

Describing the soup kitchen, the writer already quoted says:—

"Entering the yard, we found the wooden sheds crowded with people at breakfast—all ages, from white-haired men, bent with years, to eager childhood, yammering over its morning meal, and careless till the next nip of hunger came. Here and there a bonny lass had crept into the shade with her basin; and there was many a brown-faced man, who had been hardened by working upon the moor, or at the 'stone yard.' 'Theer, thae's shap't that at last, as how?' said one of these to his friend, who had just finished and stood wiping his mouth complacently. 'Shap't

that,' replied the other, 'aye, lad, aw can do a ticket an' a hafe (three pints of soup) every mornin'.' Five hundred people breakfast in the sheds alone, every day. The soup kitchen opens at five in the morning, and there is always a crowd waiting to get in. This looks like the eagerness of hunger. I was told that they often deliver three thousand quarts of soup at this kitchen in two hours. The superintendent of the bread department informed me that, on that morning, he had served out two thousand loaves, of 3lbs. 11oz. each. There was a window at one end, where soup was delivered to such as brought money for it, instead of tickets. Those who came with tickets—by far the greatest number—had to pass in single file through a strong wooden maze, which restrained their eagerness, and compelled them to order. I noticed that only a small proportion of men went through the maze, they were mostly women and children. There was many a fine, intelligent young face hurried blushing through that maze—many a bonny lad and lass who will be heard of honourably hereafter. The variety of utensils presented showed that some of the poor souls had been hard put to it for things to fetch their soup in. One brought a pitcher, another a bowl, and another a tin can, a world too big for what it had to hold. 'Yo mun mind th' jug,' said one old woman; 'it's cracked, an' it's noan o' mine.' 'Will yo bring me some?' said a little, light-haired lass, holding up her rosy neb to the soup-master. 'Aw want a ha'poth,' said a lad with a three-quart can in his hand. The benevolent-looking old gentleman who had taken the superintendence of the soup department as a labour of love, told me that there had been a woman there by half-past five that morning, who had come four miles for some coffee. There was a poor fellow breakfasting in the shed at the same time, and he gave the woman a thick shive of his bread as she went away. He mentioned other instances of the same humane feeling; and he said—'After what I have seen of them here, I say, "Let me fall into the hands of the poor."'

> "They who, half-fed, feed the breadless, in the travail of distress;
> They who, taking from a little, give to those who still have less;
> They who, needy, yet can pity when they look on greater need;
> These are Charity's disciples—these are Mercy's sons indeed.

"In my rambles I was astonished at the dismal succession of destitute homes, and the number of struggling owners of little shops, who were watching their stocks sink gradually down to

nothing, and looking despondingly at the cold approach of pauperism. I was astonished at the strings of dwellings, side by side, stript, more or less, of the commonest household utensils,—the poor little bare houses, often crowded with lodgers whose homes had been broken up elsewhere; sometimes crowded, three or four families of decent working people in a cottage of half a crown a week rental; sleeping anywhere, on benches or on straw; and afraid to doff their clothes at night time because of the cold. Now and then the weekly visitor comes to the door of a house where he has regularly called. He lifts the latch, and finds the door locked. He looks in at the window. The house is empty and the people are gone—the Lord knows where. Who can tell what tales of sorrow will have their rise in the pressure of a time like this,—tales that will never be written, and that no statistics will reveal. In one cottage, where we stopped a few minutes, the old woman told us that, in addition to their own family, they had three young women living with them,—the orphan daughters of her husband's brother. They had been out of work thirty-four weeks, and their uncle—a very poor man—had been obliged to take them into his house, 'till sich times as they could afford to pay for lodgin's somewheer else.' My companion asked whether they were all out of work still. 'Naw,' replied the old woman; 'one on 'em has getten on to wortch a few days for t' sick (that is, in the place of some sick person). Hoo's wortchin' i'th' card-reawm, at "Th' Big-un."' (This is the name they give to Messrs. Swainson and Birley's mill.)

"We called at a cottage in Everton Gardens. It was as clean as a gentleman's parlour; but there was no furniture in sight, except a table, and, upon the table, a fine bush of fresh hawthorn blossom, stuck in a pint jug full of water. Here, I heard again the common story,—they had been several months out of work; their household goods had dribbled away in ruinous sales, for something to live upon; and now, they had very little left but the walls. The little woman said to me, 'Bless yo, there is at thinks we need'n nought, becose we keepen a daycent eawtside. But, I know my own know abeawt that. Beside, one doesn't like to fill folk's meawths, iv one is ill off.'

"The next house was quite as poor in household goods. There was one flimsy deal table, one little chair, and two halfpenny pictures of Catholic saints pinned against the wall. 'Sure, I sold

the other table since you wor here before,' said the woman to my friend; 'I sold it for two-an-aightpence, an' bought this one for sixpence.' At the house of another Irish family, my friend inquired where all the chairs were gone. 'Oh,' said a young woman, 'the bailies did fetch uvverything away, barrin' the one sate, when we were livin' in Lancaster-street.' 'Where do all sit now, then?' 'My mother sits there,' replied she, 'an' we sit upon the flure.' 'I heard they were goin' to sell these heawses,' said one of the lads, 'but, begorra,' continued he, with a laugh, 'I wouldn't wonder did they sell the ground from under us next.' In the course of our visitation a thunder storm came on, during which we took shelter with a poor widow woman, who had a plateful of steeped peas for sale, in the window. She also dealt in rags and bones in a small way, and so managed to get a living, as she said, 'beawt troublin' onybody for charity.' She said it was a thing that folk had to wait a good deal out in the cold for."

From 1851 to 1861, the twenty-four townships comprised in the Blackburn Union, increased in population about thirty-three per cent, and the borough of Blackburn about thirty-nine per cent; and the borough assessment increased from £100,351 in 1851, to £144,418 in 1864, or 43·9 per cent. In the year 1860, no less that twenty-two new mills were in course of erection in Blackburn and its immediate vicinity, and it was very difficult for immigrants to find a cottage to let. Wages had risen from five to fifteen per cent; and the agricultural districts had been scoured for hands, whole families being imported from the southern and eastern counties, for the sake of their juvenile labour; whilst many prudent working men had risen within a few years into the ranks of the employers. There were fifty-two weaving sheds, with less than four hundred looms each, whilst thirty of the number employed less than two hundred and fifty looms each; and these facts afford fair proof of the position from which the employers had recently risen. Pauperism had been falling gradually year by year, until it reached its minimum in 1861. In 1858, the numbers in receipt of out-door relief were four thousand and eighty-two; in 1859, they had fallen to three thousand three hundred and forty-two; in 1860, there was a temporary rise to three thousand five hundred and forty-five; whilst in 1861, they had fallen again to two thousand eight hundred and twenty-three.

Five joint-stock manufacturing companies were commenced in 1860 and 1861 (principally by working men), with a nominal capital amongst them of £141,000, of which about £32,000 had been subscribed for, and £24,000 paid up in May, 1862. The shares of the Blackburn spinning and weaving company were increasing at the end of 1861 by twenty or thirty per week, but in May, 1862, the progress had fallen to two or three per month.

Several co-operative stores had also been established within two or three years. At Christmas, 1861, the receipts for goods at the Blakey Moor store were about £90 per week, and in May, 1862, had fallen to £70. Capital had also begun to be withdrawn, the reason assigned being in every case want of employment. Eight thousand five hundred and forty-nine persons (twenty-two and a quarter per cent of the whole number of operatives) were out of employment in April; and in May, the proportion had risen to twenty-five per cent. The out-door paupers had risen to nine thousand five hundred and ninety-seven, or two hundred and fifty per cent increase on the number in 1861. The savings bank deposits had increased rapidly for some years prior to 1861, the sum due to depositors having risen from £71,652 in 1855, to £119,289 in 1860, but in the latter portion of 1861 the pressure of the crisis had begun to be felt, and the amount due to depositors on 20th November was less by £600 than at the end of the previous year.

In May, 1862, a subscription for the relief of the unemployed had been commenced, and had reached £3,300; the smallness of the amount being attributed to the political complexion of the committee. Soup tickets were distributed by the subscribers to the fund, and the soup was sold to the holders of the tickets at a penny per quart. Four pounds of bread and two of oatmeal per week were also given to each person; and, as the subscribers were not restricted from giving tickets to the dependants on the board of guardians, it is probable that the best possible use was not made of the funds. Conversation with shopkeepers, at this period, showed that occupiers of heavily-rented and heavily-taxed shops were not taking one-quarter of their usual receipts. The benefit societies were also suffering heavily, but the Oddfellows and others were doing their best to meet the crisis by borrowing from their contingent funds for the general subscription fund. The board of guardians had raised their scale of relief to three shillings for single able-bodied men, in return

for three days' work; whilst a man with a wife and two children would get six shillings for six days' work; and a man with four children would get ten shillings. We extract a few samples from the special correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner and Times* of the people who applied for relief:—

"A clean, old, decrepit man presented himself at the board. 'What's brought you here, Joseph?' asked the chairman. 'Why, aw've nought to do, nor nought to tak' to.' 'What's your daughter Ellen doing?' 'Hoo's eawt o' wark.' 'And what's your wife doing?' 'Hoo's bin bedfast aboon five year.' A ticket for relief being given, the man looked at it, and turned round, saying—'Couldn't yo let me be a sweeper i'th' streets i'stid?'

"A clean old woman came up, with a snow-white nightcap on her head. 'Well, Mary, what do you want?' 'Aw could like yo to gi' mo a bit o' summat, Mr. Eccles, for aw need it.' 'Well, but you've some lodgers, haven't you, Mary?' 'Yigh, aw've three.' 'Well, what do they pay you?' 'They payn mo nought. They'n no wark, an' one connot turn 'um eawt.' 'Well, but you live with your son, don't you?' Nay, he lives *wi' me*, an' he's eawt o' wark too. Aw could like yo to do a bit a summat for us. We'se hard put to't.'

"Another old woman presented herself, with a threadbare shawl round her head. 'Well, Ann,' said the chairman, 'there's nobody but yourself and your John, is there?' 'Naw.' 'What age are you?' 'Aw'm seventy.' 'Seventy?' 'Aye aw am.' 'Well, what age is your John?' 'He's gooin i' seventy-four.' 'Where is he, Ann?' 'Well, aw left him deawn i'th' street yon, gettin' a load o' coals in.'"

The workpeople very commonly nickname their workshops here as elsewhere. A girl being asked where she worked last, replied—"At th' Puff an' Dart." "And what made you leave?" "Whaw, they were woven up." One poor, pale fellow said he "had wortched a bit at 'Bang th' Nation,' till he was taken ill, and then they had shopped his place" (given his work to someone else). Another, when asked where he had been working, replied—"At Se'nacre Bruck (Seven Acre Brook), wheer th' wild monkey were catched;" alluding to the capture of an ouran-outang which had escaped from a menagerie.

In the midst of this distress there was no general movement amongst the employers who continued working to reduce wages, and if there had been, it would not apparently have been accom-

plished quietly. For instance, "at one mill where the operatives were receiving about eleven shillings per week each, for minding two looms, the proprietor offered to give the hands three looms each, and to guarantee them work for three months, at a penny farthing per piece reduction; but they refused the offer, and worked on at old prices on two looms, with a prospect of an early stoppage, the three months' proffered order being declined by the employer."

A keeper of a provision shop, being appealed to, said—"We'n a deal of brass owin', but it's mostly owin' by folk at'll pay *sometime*. An' then th' part on 'em are doin' a bit yo' known, an' they bring'n their trifle o' ready brass to us, and so we're trailin' on. But folk han to trust us a bit for their stuff, dunnot yo see—or else it would be wo up! soon." A beerhouse keeper had only drawn eighteenpence for a whole week, and his children being factory operatives were all out of work. They would have been glad of a few soup tickets, but the man said "Who'd believe me if aw were to go an' ax for relief?"

Speaking of the township of Blackburn alone, Mr. Commissioner Farnall wrote, 29th May, 1862: "The increase of pauperism over May, 1861, is five hundred per cent, made up mainly of mill hands out of work. Six hundred and twenty of these people were at work under the guardians, levelling a piece of land for the lord of the manor, in exchange for relief, the guardians receiving for the work twopence halfpenny per yard; and other men were employed by the relief committee upon the land belonging to the infirmary. The number totally out of work in the township alone is eight thousand four hundred and twenty-four, whilst as many more are working short time, leaving only nine thousand one hundred and thirteen out of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and seventy-five in full work. One-third of the operatives are wholly without the means of living, and another third are on half rations. The full number of dependants on relief would be from seventeen thousand to eighteen thousand. The public subscription had reached £5,235, and there had been about £10,000 withdrawn from the savings bank. The amount of a half-a-year's relief by the guardians in ordinary times was about £1,850; but at this period, including the sum distributed by the relief committee, it was £5,881, or nearly three hundred and eighteen per cent in excess, and indigence was still increasing rapidly." The ordinary

poor-rate is about one shilling in the pound per annum on the assessment; for the year ending Lady-day, 1862, it had been one shilling and fivepence one-eighth; the usual rate had since been levied, and Mr. Farnall calculated that another rate of three shillings would be necessary, in addition to the public subscription, to carry them through the year 1862; but at Lady-day, 1863, there had been expended a rate of four shillings by the guardians, and of five shillings and twopence farthing by the relief committees, not in Blackburn township alone, but throughout the union, being more than eight hundred per cent in excess of the ordinary expenditure under the guardians. In addition to the relief afforded by the guardians and the relief committee, several employers whose mills were closed, were providing one meal per day for the persons who were ordinarily employed by them; whilst a special committee had collected subscriptions and established several "mother's kitchens," where many poor women and their little children resorted for a daily dinner.

In Wigan, nineteen per cent of the population are dependent on the cotton manufacture, whilst a similar proportion are supported by the collieries, and it very commonly happens that whilst the male portion of a family work at the colliery, the females who are of working age are employed in the mill or weaving shed. Where several staple trades are carried on in the same town, the deficient demand in one is often in some degree compensated by the continued prosperity of the rest; so that although such a locality will seldom increase in wealth or in population so rapidly as if devoted to the production of a single staple which is in great demand, yet the division of employments will also prevent its falling to so great a depth of suffering as the annihilation of the single employment would otherwise cause. But the productions of the Wigan collieries are consumed in so large a proportion in cotton manufactories, and by people dependent thereon, that they sympathise with the cotton trade in prosperity and in adversity; and short time working in the mills is commonly followed at no great distance by want of employment at the pits; so that Wigan, whilst only at first sight half dependent on cotton, is really not much better off than if the whole of its industrial adult population relied solely for employment upon the mills.

The increase of population in the ten years ending 1861 was, in the borough, eighteen per cent; and in the poor law union, nine per cent, shewing a little lower rate of increase than Preston, and very much less than Blackburn. The borough assessment rose in the same period from £51,520 to £72,516. The number of persons who were dependent on out-door relief in April, 1857, was two thousand six hundred and seventy-six; at the same period in 1861 it was two thousand two hundred and forty-six; but in December, 1861, it had risen to three thousand and eighty-five, being fifteen per cent higher than in the panic year, 1857, and showing nearly thirty-three per cent rise between April and December, 1861. From this period distress increased rapidly; and early in 1862 a relief committee was formed, and the town canvassed for subscriptions, the result being a fund amounting to £3,800. In May, 1862, there were about four thousand cases, comprising from nine thousand to ten thousand persons, dependent upon the guardians and the relief committee; for here, as elsewhere, the committee commenced work by supplementing the relief given by the guardians, and so made it difficult to ascertain the total number receiving assistance, and equally difficult to ascertain whether all that was given was actually needed. A sub-committee sat in each ward of the town, and after visitation, distributed relief, in the shape of tickets on the various shopkeepers; who, having taken them in exchange for goods, got their cash from the committee, which, sitting in the centre of the town, superintended the operations of the various districts. At this period only one mill was working full time, and a considerable reduction of wages had taken place there. The withdrawals from the savings bank in 1861 were £2,000 in excess of the deposits; whilst in the early part of 1862 the deposits of the working class and small shopkeepers had almost ceased. There were four soup kitchens in operation, three of which were carried on by private citizens at their own cost, and the fourth by the relief committee; whilst one or two men who had recently risen to wealth had so far forgotten their own early troubles as to refuse to let their names appear in the subscription list. The weekly expenditure of the relief committee was from £200 to £250.

The sale of goods at the co-operative store had fallen from Christmas up to May from £70 to £50 per week; and a publican,

at whose house thirteen benefit societies met, and which was also a considerable resort for the poorer class of market people, said his daily receipts had fallen two-thirds. One burial society had given up collecting for a quarter, whilst others had lowered their contributions, in order to meet the pressure, and in cases of death, deducted the difference from the claims payable. The Foresters and Oddfellows' societies here, as in other towns, paid the subscriptions of distressed members out of their contingent funds, so long as they lasted.

From this town Mr. John Whittaker wrote his letters to *The Times*, under the signature of "A Lancashire Lad," and thus originated the Mansion House fund. We add to his description (which will be found further on) an extract from the special correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, of 2nd September, 1862. He is describing a visit to Amy Lane.

"A few yards up the street we came to a few rude steps, which led up, on the right hand side, to a little terrace of poor cottages, overlooking the river Douglas. We called at one of these cottages. Though rather disorderly just then, it was not an uncomfortable place; it was evidently looked after, at the right time, by some homely dame. A clean old cat dosed upon a chair by the fireside. The bits of cottage furniture, though cheap, and well worn, were all there; and the simple household gods, in the shape of pictures and ornaments, were in their places still. A hardy-looking, brown-faced man, with close-cropped black hair, and a mild countenance, sat at a table by the window, making artificial flies, for fishing. In the corner over his head a cheap, dingy picture of the Trial of Queen Katharine, hung against the wall. I could just make out the tall figure of the indignant queen, in the well-known theatrical attitude, with her right arm outstretched and uplifted, and her sad, proud face turned away from the judgment seat, where Henry sits evidently uncomfortable in mind, as she gushes forth that bold address to her priestly foes and her accusers. The man, sitting beneath the picture, told us that he was a throstle overlooker by trade, and that he had been nine months out of work. He said 'There's five on us here when we're o' i'th heawse. When th' wark fell off I had a bit o' brass save't up, so we were forced to start o' usin' that. But month after month went by, and th' brass kept gettin' less, do what we

would; an' th' times geet wur, till at last we fund ersels fair stagged up. At after that, my mother helped us as weel as hoo could,—why, hoo does neaw, for th' matter o' that, an' then aw've three brothers, colliers; they've done their best to poo us through. But, they're nobbut wortchin' four days a week, neaw; beside they've enough to do for their own. Aw make no accawnt o' slotchin' up an' deawn o' this shap, like a foo. It would sicken a dog, it would for sure. Aw go a-fishin' a bit, neaw an' then; an' aw cotter abeawt wi' first one thing an' then another, but it comes to no sense. It's noan like gradely wark. It makes me maunder up an' deawn, sometimes like a gonnor wi' a nail in it yed. Aw wish to God yon chaps in Amerikay would play th' upstroke, an' get done wi their bother, so as folk could start o' wortchin' again.' As we passed the doors of a row of new cottages, at the top end of 'Hardy Butts,' a respectable old man looked out at one of the doorways, and said to my friend, 'Could aw spake to yo a minute?' We went in, and found the house remarkably clean, with good cottage furniture in it. Two children were peeping in at the open door. The old man first sent them way; and then, after closing the door, he pointed to a good-looking young woman who stood blushing at the entrance of the inner room, with a wet cloth in her hands, and he said, 'Could yo do a bit o' summat to help this lass wohl sich times as hoo can get wark again? Hoo's noather feyther nor mother, nor nought i'th world to tak to, but what aw can spare for her, an' this is a poor shop to come to for help. Aw'm uncle to her.' 'Well,' said my friend, 'And cannot you manage to keep her?' 'God bless yo!' replied the old man, getting warm, 'Aw cannot keep mysel'. Aw will howd eawt as lung as aw can; but, yo know, what 'll barely keep one alive 'll clam two very ill. Aw should be thankful iv yo could give her a bit o' help whol things are as they are.' Before the old man had done talking, his niece had crept away into the back room, as if ashamed of being the subject of such a conversation. This case was soon disposed of to the satisfaction of the old man; after which we visited three other houses in the same block, of which I have nothing special to say, except that they were all inhabited by people brought down to destitution by long want of work, and living solely upon the relief fund, and upon the private charity of their old employers."

Stockport, from some cause not very clearly ascertained, seems to have had less than a fair share of the prosperity which the last half century has spread over the towns in the cotton manufacturing district. It suffered so heavily in the troubles of 1842 that some wag, in passing along and noticing the large proportion of empty cottages, wrote upon a shutter—"Stockport to let," which satire Thomas Carlyle has immortalised in his "Chartism;" and in the ten years ending with 1860-1, the increase of population was seven and a half per cent below the general increase in England and Wales, and fourteen and a half below the average of Lancashire, manufacturing and rural. A Manchester manufacturer, who went to look at a mill there in 1862, with a view to purchase, left the place and declined the offer of the vendor, not from any fault in the building or machinery, but because he heard that the operatives were apt to be troublesome. And about the end of 1861, a letter from the Operative Spinners' Society of Stockport was published in one of the Manchester papers, naming certain employers of that town, and affirming that they would not be forgotten on the return of good times. It is certain that localities do acquire a character in the market for the quality of their goods, which, if it be good, prejudices buyers in their favour; and, if bad, often does an undeserved injury. Thus, bitter ale from Burton-on-Trent would sell better than the same article from Birmingham; and narrow woollens from Huddersfield command better prices than if made at Golcar or Dewsbury, which places are famous for the manufacture of shoddy. A Stalybridge brewing firm, a short time ago, were or professed to be ruined by having their ale christened "Surat ale," an indication that its quality was as wretched as much of the cotton known by the name Surats. If the same rule of prejudice has operated against Stockport as a cotton-manufacturing town, the place has met with a severe punishment for the real or supposed misconduct of its workpeople.

The industrial statistics issued by the poor-law board tell us that 37·4 per cent of the adult population is engaged in manufactures. The borough police returns inform us that, out of a population of fifty-four thousand six hundred and eighty-one, there are usually seventeen thousand and thirty-eight, or nearly one-third of the whole, dependent on cotton mills. In June, 1862, there were six thousand two hundred cotton operatives wholly out of employ,

five thousand and sixty-eight in full work, and the remainder (five thousand seven hundred and seventy) on short time. So that employment was nearly half extinguished, whilst one-third of the operatives were getting two-thirds of the wages which were then being paid. The year 1861, measured by its pauperism, had been most prosperous. In the troublous year 1842, the poor-rate amounted to £22,000; in the panic year (1857-8) it was about £24,000; but in 1861 the amount levied was only £14,816. The numbers dependent on the guardians were two thousand four hundred and sixty-three in April, 1858, whilst in April, 1862, they were five thousand and eighty-one, being one hundred and six per cent in excess of 1858, and two hundred and twenty-six per cent in excess of 1861. In the latter year the savings bank deposits exceeded the withdrawals by £5,360, but, by the beginning of May, 1862, the withdrawals were already some £10,000 in excess of the deposits. The relief committee were at this date aiding about twelve thousand persons, whose income, apart from such aid, was about ninepence halfpenny per head per week. The board of guardians had some four hundred or five hundred men at work at road making, in return for relief to the extent of two shillings and sixpence per week for man and wife, or from five shillings to six shillings per week for large families. The general relief fund in May, 1862, stood at £2,487, whilst some ten or twelve firms were aiding their own unemployed hands. The system of relief was commenced by Messrs. Kershaw and Co., in January, 1862, and gradually extended until every ward had its committee, whilst a central committee controlled the whole.

The sales at the co-operative store, which at one time reached about £600 weekly, had fallen in May, 1862, to about £300. A very small amount of capital had been withdrawn, and the decrease in the returns was therefore due almost wholly to the absence of employment. The friendly societies, such as Oddfellows, Foresters, &c., were lending out of their contingent funds to pay the contributions of those members who were out of work, and in some cases giving the necessary amount as a gratuity. One burial society, with about five thousand members, had lost five hundred in five months, solely from inability to pay, although they had commenced to collect monthly instead of fortnightly, thus reducing the subscription by one-half. Before the relief committees were fully

organised the sharp pinch of hunger had forced many of the proud spirited operatives to beg; but this, like every other distasteful job, was mostly left to the women, and here is a description by the *Examiner and Times'* special correspondent of a group of Stockport weavers returning home after a day spent in begging:—

"Three young women stopped on the footpath in front of the inn, close to the place where we stood, and began to talk together in a very free, open way, quite careless of being overheard. One of them was a stout, handsome young woman, about twenty-three. Her dress was of light printed stuff, clean and good. Her round, ruddy arms, her clear blond complexion, and the bright expression of her full open countenance, all indicated health and good-nature. I guessed from her conversation, as well as from her general appearance, that she was a factory operative in full employ—though that is such a rare thing in these parts now. The other two looked very poor and downhearted. One was a short, thick-set girl, seemingly not twenty years of age; her face was sad, and she had very little to say. The other was a thin, dark-haired, cadaverous woman, about thirty years of age, as I supposed; her shrunk visage was the picture of want, and her frank, child-like talk showed great simplicity of character. The weather had been wet for some days previous; and the clothing of the two looked thin and shower-stained. It had evidently been worn a good while, and the colours were faded. Each of them wore a poor, shivery bit of shawl, in which their hands were folded, as if to keep them warm. The handsome lass, who seemed to be in good employ, knew them both; but she showed an especial kindness towards the eldest of them. As these two stood talking to their friend, we did not take much notice of what they were saying until two other young women came slowly from townwards, looking poor, and tired, and ill, like the first. These last comers instantly recognised two of those who stood talking together in front of the inn, and one of them said to the other, 'Eh, sitho; there's Sarah an' Martha here! * * * Eh, lasses; han yo bin a-beggin' too?' 'Aye, lass; we han;' replied the thin, dark-complexioned woman; 'Aye, lass; we han. Aw've just bin tellin' Ann, here. Aw never did sich a thing i' my life afore—never! But it's th' first time and th' last for me,—it is that? Aw'll go whoam; an' aw'll dee theer, afore aw'll go a-beggin' ony moor,—

aw will for sure! Mon, it's such a nasty, dirty job; aw'd as soon clem! * * * See yo, lasses; we set off this mornin'—Martha an' me, we set eawt this mornin' to go to Gorton Tank, becose we yerd that it wur sich a good place. But one doesn't know wheer to go to these times; an' one doesn't like to go a beggin' among folk at they known. Well, when we coom to Gorton we geet twopence hawpenny theer, an' that wur o'. Now, there's plenty moor beggin' besides us. Well, at after that twopence hawpenny, we geet twopence moor, an' that's o' at we'n getten. But, eh, lasses, when aw coom to do it, aw hadn't th' heart to ax for nought; aw hadn't for sure. * * * Martha an' me's walked aboon ten mile iv we'n walked a yard; an' we geet weet through th' first thing; an' aw wur ill when we set off, an' so wur Martha too; aw know hoo wur, though hoo says nought mich abeawt it. Well; we coom back through t' teawn; an' we were both on us fair stagged up. Aw never were so done o'er i' my life, wi' one thing an' another. So we co'de a-seein' Ann here; an' hoo made us a rare good baggin'—th' lass did. See yo; aw wur fit to drop o'th flags afore aw geet that saup o' warm tay into mo—aw wur for sure! An' neaw, hoo's come'd a gate wi' us hitherto, an' hoo would have us to have a glass o' warm ale a-piece at yon heawse lower deawn a bit; an' aw dar say it'll do mo good, aw getten sich a cowd; but, eh dear, it made mo as mazy as a tup; an' neaw, hoo wants us to have another afore we starten off whoam. But it's no use; we mun' be goin' on. Aw'm noan used to it, an' aw connot ston it. Aw'm as wake as a kittlin' this minute.' Ann, who had befriended them in this manner, was the handsome young woman who seemed to be in work; and now, the poor woman who had been telling the story, laid her hand upon her friend's shoulder and said, 'Ann, thee's behaved very weel to us o'roads; an' neaw, lass, go thi ways whoam, an' dunnut fret abeawt us, mon. Aw feel better neaw. We's be reet enough to-morn, lass. Mon, there's awlus some way shap't. That tay's done me a deeol o' good. * * * Go thi ways whoam, Ann; neaw do; or else aw shan't be yezzy abeawt tho!' But Ann, who was wiping her eyes with her apron, replied, 'Naw, naw; aw will not go yet, Sarah!' * * * And then she began to cry, 'Eh, lasses; aw dunnot like to see yo o' this shap—aw dunnot for sure! Besides, yo'n bin far enough to-day. Come back wi' me. Aw cannot find reawm

for both on yo; but thee come back wi' me, Sarah. Aw'll find thee a good bed; an' thae'rt welcome to a share o' what there is—as welcome as th' fleawers o' May—thae knows that. * * * * Thae'rt th' owdest o' th' two; an' thae't noan fit to trawnce up an' deawn o' this shap. Come back to eawr heawse; an' Martha'll go forrud to Stopput [Stockport]—winnot tho, Martha? * * * Thae knows, Martha,' continued she, 'thae knows, Martha, thae munnot think nought at me axin' Sarah, and noan o' thee. Yo should both on yo go back iv aw'd reawm—but aw havn't. Beside, thae'rt younger and strunger than hoo is.' 'Eh, God bless tho, lass,' replied Martha, 'aw know o' abeawt it. Aw'd rayther Sarah would stop, for hoo'll be ill. Aw can go forrud by mysel', weel enough. It's noan so fur, neaw.' But here, Sarah, the eldest of the three, laid her hand once more upon the shoulder of her friend, and said in an earnest tone, 'Ann! It will not do, my lass: go aw mun! Aw never wur away fro' whoam o' neet i' my life,—never! Aw connot do it, mon! Beside, thae knows, aw've left yon lad, an' never a wick soul wi' him! He'd fret hissel' to deoth this neet, mon, if aw didn't go whoam! Aw couldn't sleep a wink for thinkin' abeawt him! Th' child would be fit to start eawt o'th heawse i'th deead time o'th neet a-seechin' mo,—aw know he would! * * * Aw mun go, mun. God bless tho, Ann; aw'm obleeged to thee o' th' same,—thae knows heaw it is.'"

Mr. Farnall was at Stockport on June 20, 1862, and reported the nett ratable value of the township at £61,833, of which £11,946 was on mill property. The ordinary pauperism of the union was 1·5 per cent, but at that date it was 6·0 per cent in the township of Stockport. The expenditure up to Lady-day had been for the past year at the rate of 1s. 1⅞d. in the pound; in 1862-3 it was 3s. 2⅝d. by the guardians, supplemented by 5s. 5⅞d. from the relief committee, being an increase of eight hundred and fifty-two per cent over 1861, exclusive of the relief given direct by employers, as also of all private charity. The guardians employed a considerable number of the able-bodied men on road making, and other out-door labour, in return for relief; and it is only due to Lord Egerton of Tatton, to say that this latter work was mainly on his land and at his expense, and that from unsuccessful attempts by the central executive to get this kind of employment extended from private sources, originated the first idea of the Public Works Act. The distribution by the relief committee

was at this date wholly in kind, and apparently afforded entire satisfaction. The expenditure up to June, 1862, had been £2,888. We visited the union offices in May, 1862, and noticed the class of people who were waiting for help. The usual recipients of poor-law relief are the old and infirm, the sick and disabled, mingled with a few profligates, who have lost all self-respect, and who don't care how they get the means of living, so that it be not by working. But here were hundreds of honest, sober, industrious, simple-minded men, who had been used to regular work and could not be happy without it; but who were driven by the sad necessity of want to do violence to their own consciences, and for the sake of their wives and children to submit to the ordeal of the poor-law guardians. It was a curious but a mournful sight. The poor fellows shuffled along as if ashamed of what they were doing; some of them, as they neared the place, stopped and hesitated whether or not to proceed, until joined by acquaintances; when, doing their best to keep one another in countenance, they would arrive at the offices together, take their places, and wait their turns for audience. Meanwhile the conversation would turn upon the latest news from America, and the probable continuance or termination of the war; then they would gossip about the condition of their neighbours who were not yet upon the relief lists; joke about the sacrifice of furniture for food, and tell how long the round table or the chest of drawers had served them to live upon; but it was mournful mirth, such as the serio-comic attempts to keep up the spirits of a funeral party, and it brought us to the conclusion that no cripple or invalid could excite the amount of pity or sympathy which must be felt for men who have the will and the power but not the opportunity of earning their own bread. The dependence of the cripple and the invalid we expect as a matter of course, and we know that the chapter of accidents will always supply new cases; they are inevitable, and benevolence is always ready to supply their wants; but to see an army of workers, with all the mental and bodily capacities for labour, made suddenly powerless for self-help, is so contrary to the established order of nature, as to excite emotions which defy expression in words, and which will only be satisfied by prompt and vigorous action.

Mr. Commissioner Farnall, who visited Ashton in May, 1862, reported as follows:—

"The union of Ashton-under-Lyne contains thirteen townships within an area of thirty-eight thousand six hundred and fifty-seven acres; its population numbers one hundred and thirty-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-one persons; and its nett rateable value in 1856 was £285,357. The present weekly expenditure of this union in out-door relief is £2,169, and the weekly cost of in-maintenance, at the rate of three shillings per head per week, is £79, making a total weekly expenditure in relief alone of £2,248, which is at the rate of £116,896 per annum. The expenditure of this union out of the poor-rates, for all other purposes than relief, for the year ended Lady-day, 1861, was £10,712; this sum, therefore, added to £116,896 spent in relief alone, makes a total annual expenditure of £127,608. The nett ratable value of the property in this union was in 1856, as I have already stated, £285,357; the total present expenditure, therefore, is now at the rate of eight shillings and elevenpence farthing in the pound on that value; but it is necessary to make a deduction of twenty-five per cent from the nett ratable value of £285,357 for irrecoverable rates, empty property, &c.; and therefore the nett ratable value is reduced to £214,017; so that the present expenditure is at the rate of eleven shillings and elevenpence in the pound on that value. I may mention that there are now thirty-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-one persons receiving parochial relief in this union; and that in the corresponding week of last year one thousand nine hundred and sixty-two were so relieved; and further, that the weekly cost of out-relief is now £2,168. 11s. 8d., while in the corresponding week of last year it was £93. 8s. 2d. The present percentage of pauperism on the population in this union is 24·4; in the corresponding week of last year it was 1·5. I will now pass on to the township of Ashton-under-Lyne. This township contains a population of sixty-six thousand eight hundred and six persons, and its present nett ratable value is £156,054; the owners and occupiers of mills paying one-third of the poor-rates. This township is now spending weekly in relief alone £1,189, being an expenditure in relief alone at the rate of £61,828 per annum. The expenditure of this township out of the poor-rates, for all other purposes than relief, for the year ended Lady-day, 1861, was £5,620; this sum, therefore, added to £61,828 spent in relief alone, makes a total annual expenditure of £67,448. The present nett

ratable value of this township is £156,054; the total present expenditure, therefore, is now at the rate of eight shillings and sevenpence three-farthings in the pound on that value; but it is necessary to make a deduction of twenty-six per cent from the nett ratable value of £156,054, for irrecoverable rates, empty property, &c.; and therefore the nett ratable value is reduced to £114,700, so that the present expenditure is at the rate of eleven shillings and ninepence in the pound on that value. I may add that there are now sixteen thousand seven hundred and sixty persons receiving parochial relief in this township, and that the percentage of pauperism on its population is 25·1. It is also necessary to state that, independently of the sixteen thousand seven hundred and sixty persons now receiving parochial relief, the resident local committee of charity of the township of Ashton-under-Lyne relieved last week two thousand six hundred and twenty-six persons, who are not relieved out of the poor-rates, so that the percentage of persons, aided by the poor-rates and by charity, on the population of this township, is at present 29·9 per cent; and I am obliged to add that the poverty of the township is still increasing. Since Lady-day last, two poor-rates, each at one shilling and sixpence in the pound, have been allowed and collected in this township; these two rates should have produced £21,727. 3s. 4d., but the distress in the township lessened this product by £3,420. 5s. 8d., and consequently the treasurer's account is overdrawn, and it has now become necessary to ask for another rate of four shillings and sixpence in the pound, which should produce £32,712. 3s. 6d.; but which, it is believed, will produce only £24,000, a sum which it is hoped will meet the expenditure of the township to Lady-day next. I have to state that the Rate in Aid Act was brought into operation in this union by the board of guardians at Michaelmas last, and that five townships within it were then enabled to avail themselves of the provisions of the first section of the Act adverted to, by transferring the excess of their expenditure of ninepence in the pound, 'in and about relief,' on their nett ratable value, to the common fund of the whole union, but that the township of Ashton-under-Lyne is not one of the five townships referred to. I know that this union spent during the week ended on Saturday last £2,346 in relief alone. Now, presuming that this rate of expenditure shall have been reached in

each week of the current quarter, it is clear that the expenditure in relief alone will be, during the quarter, £30,498, or two shillings and one penny three-farthings in the pound on the nett ratable value of the whole union. I close this statement by saying that the situation of Ashton-under-Lyne illustrates that of such places as Preston, Blackburn, Stockport, and other similar localities; and perhaps I may be permitted, even in this official communication, to assure those benevolent persons in England and the colonies who are now charitably aiding the Lancashire workpeople, that their subscriptions are saving thousands of meritorious operatives and their children, whose spirits are yet unbroken, from the necessity of applying for parochial relief, and are, at the same time, attaching to themselves a class of people whose present conduct is a guarantee of their sterling goodness."

CHAPTER X.

Origin of the Mansion House Fund—Letters of "A Lancashire Lad"—Deputation to the Lord Mayor—Balance Sheet and List of Subscriptions.

In *The Times* of April 14, 1862, appeared the first of a series of letters from "A Lancashire Lad," pleading with true and simple eloquence the cause of the distressed operatives. He said: "I am living in the centre of a vast district where there are many cotton mills, which in ordinary times afford employment to many thousands of 'hands,' and food to many more thousands of mouths. With very rare exceptions, quietness reigns at all those mills. * * * It may be that our material atmosphere is somewhat brighter than it was, but our social atmosphere is much darker and denser. Hard times have come; and we have had them sufficiently long to know what they mean. We have fathers sitting in the house at mid-day, silent and glum, while children look wistfully about, and sometimes whimper for bread which they cannot have. We have the same fathers who, before hard times came, were proud men, who would have thought 'beggar' the most opprobrious epithet you could have hit them with; but who now are made humble by the sight of wife and children almost starving, and who go before 'relief committees' and submit to be questioned about their wants with a patience and humility which it is painful, almost shocking, to witness. And some others of these fathers turn out in the morning with long besoms as street sweepers, while others again go to breaking stones in the town's yard or open road-side, where they are unprotected from the keen east winds which add a little more to the burden of misery which they have to bear just now. But harder even than this, our factory women and girls have had to turn out; and plodding a weary way from door to door, beg a bit of bread or a stray copper that they may eke out the scanty supply at home. Only

the other day, while taking a long stroll in the country lying about the town in which I live, I met a few of these factory girls, and was stopped by their not very beggar-like question of 'Con yo help us a bit?' They were just such as my own sisters; and as I saw and heard them I was almost choked as I fancied my sisters come to such a pass as that. 'Con yo help us a bit?' asked these factory girls. * * * I have heard of ladies whose whole lives seem to be but a changing from one kind of pleasure to another; who suffer chiefly from what they call *ennui* (a kind of disease from which my sisters are not likely to suffer at all), and to whom a new pleasure to enjoy would be something like what a new world to conquer would be to Alexander. Why should they not hear our Lancashire girls' cry of 'Con yo help us a bit?' Why should not they be reminded that these girls in cotton gowns and wooden clogs are wending their way towards the same heaven—or, alas, towards the same hell—whither wend all the daughters of Eve, no matter what their outer condition and dress? Why should not they be asked to think how these striving girls have to pray daily, 'Lead us not into temptation,' while temptations innumerable stand everywhere about them? * * * Those of us who are men would rather do much than let our sisters go begging. May not some of us take to doing more to prevent it? I remember some poetry about the

Sister bloodhounds, Want and Sin,

and know that they hunt oftener together than singly. We have felt the fangs of the first: upon how many of us will the second pounce?"

In a second letter inserted in *The Times* of April 22, 1862, the same writer says: "Even during the short time which has elapsed since I wrote last week many things have combined to show that the distress is rapidly increasing, and that there is a pressing need that we should go beyond the borders of our own county for help. * * * I remember what I have read of the Godlike in man, and I look with a strange feeling upon the half-famished creatures I see hourly about me. I cannot pass through a street but I see evidences of deep distress. I cannot sit at home half an hour without having one or more coming to ask for bread to eat. But what comes casually before me is as nothing when compared with

that deeper distress which can only be seen by those who seek it. * * * There have been families who have been so reduced that the only food they have had has been a porridge made of Indian meal. They could not afford oatmeal; and even of their Indian meal porridge they could only afford to have two meals a-day. They have been so ashamed of their coarser food that they have done all that was possible to hide their desperate state from those about them. It has only been by accident that it has been found out, and then they have been caught hurriedly putting away the dishes which contained their loathsome food. A woman, whose name I could give, and whose dwelling I could point to, was said not only to be in deep distress, but to be also ill of fever. She was visited. On entering the lower room of the house the visitors saw that there was not a scrap of furniture; the woman, fever-stricken, sat on an orange-box before a low fire; and to prevent the fire from going quite out, she was pulling her seat to pieces for fuel bit by bit. The visitors looked up stairs. There was no furniture there—only a bit of straw in a corner, which served as the bed of the woman's four children. In another case a woman, who was said to be too weak to apply for relief, was visited. Her husband had been out of work a long time by reason of his illness; he was now of a fashion recovered, and had gone off to seek for work. He left his wife and three children in their cellar-home. The wife was very near her confinement, and had not tasted food for two or three days. * * * There are in this town some hundreds of young single women who have been self-dependent, but who are now entirely without means. Nearly all of these are good English girls who have quietly fought their own life battle, but who now have hard work to withstand the attacks this grim poverty is making. I am told of a case in which one of these girls was forced to become one of that class of whom poor Hood sang in his 'Bridge of Sighs.' She was an orphan, had no relations here, and was tossed about from place to place till she found her way to a brothel. Thank God, she has been rescued. Our relief fund has been the means of relieving her from that degradation; but cannot those who read my letter see how strong are the temptations which their want places in the way of these poor girls?"

It was not likely that such appeals, carrying conviction to the

mind of every reader, would be long without response, and we learn that, on 25th April, a number of city merchants, most of whom were interested in the cotton manufacture, waited upon the Lord Mayor of London, with a view to interest him, and through him the public at large, in the wide-spread and increasing distress among the operative population in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire. The "Lancashire Lad" had preceded the deputation, for he had written direct to the lord mayor, and urged upon him to do for Lancashire as he and former occupants of his office had done for other places and other purposes, viz.,—to become the recipient of voluntary contributions. With true modesty, he set forth the case thus :—

"Local means are nearly exhausted, and I am convinced that if we have not help from without, our condition will soon be more desperate than I or anyone else who possesses human feelings can wish it to become. To see the homes of those whom we know and respect, though they are but working men, stripped of every bit of furniture—to see long-cherished books and pictures sent one by one to the pawn shop, that food may be had—and to see that food almost loathsome in kind, and insufficient in quantity, are hard, very hard things to bear. But those are not the worst things. In many of our cottage homes there is now nothing left by the pawning of which a few pence may be raised, and the mothers and sisters of we 'Lancashire lads' have turned out to beg, and ofttimes knock at the doors of houses in which there is as much destitution as there is in their own; while the fathers and the lads themselves think they are very fortunate if they can earn a shilling or two by street sweeping or stone breaking. * * * Will you not do for us what you have done for others—become the recipient of whatever moneys those who are inclined to help us may send to you?" The lord mayor, having listened to the deputation, read them the personal appeal, and, "before separating, the deputation engaged to form themselves into a provisional committee, to correspond with any local one which circumstances might render it desirable to set on foot in some central part of the distressed districts." Immediately afterwards the lord mayor, on taking his seat in the justice room, stated that "he was ready, with the assistance of the gentlemen of the deputation, to act in the way desired. * * * He could not himself take any part in the distribution. All he could do was to be the medium of transmission, and as soon as he knew that

some organisation had been formed, either in the great city of Manchester, or in some other part of Lancashire, in which the public might feel confidence, he should be ready to send the small sums he had already received, and any others that might be entrusted to him from time to time." And thus originated the first general subscription for the cotton operatives, and which, before it closed, reached the magnificent sum of £528,336. 9s. 9d. The first grants were made 8th May, 1862, and grants were continued weekly until 6th June, 1865, when the committee adjourned to 3rd October, and to each of the local relief committees a copy of the following circular was sent:—

"Mansion House, London, 6 June, 1865.

"To the local relief committee of ——

"Gentlemen,—I am directed by the Mansion House relief committee to inform you that, after having been enabled (since their formation in April, 1862) to forward, by the liberality of the public, to the distressed cotton districts, through the medium of some two hundred and sixty local relief committees, upwards of half a million of money, in addition to large supplies of blankets and clothing, they consider that the time has at length arrived when the committee should suspend their labours, at least for the summer months. Accordingly, it was resolved at a meeting of the committee to-day, that notice should be given to the various local relief committees, with which they have been so long in communication, that no further grants would be made; that the committee, at their rising, should adjourn to Tuesday, the 3rd October next, and that the small balance remaining in hand, viz., £9,222. 17s. 5d., should be invested in government securities till the 4th October next.

"In thanking you for the cordiality evinced by your committee towards the Mansion House committee during our long correspondence and connection, I remain, gentlemen, yours very truly,

"Joseph Gibbs, Secretary."

The last cash statement, made up to 5th June, was as follows:—

Dr.

To amount of subscriptions	£522,904	3	5
,, ditto ditto for emigration . . .	1,060	11	1
,, bank interest to 3rd May	4,371	15	3
Total receipts . .	£528,336	9	9

	Cr.					
By remitted to Lancashire . . .	£508,806	3	11			
,, ditto ditto special . .	52	10	0			
,, returned to parties	109	7	2			
,, grants to emigration committees .	4,836	15	0			
				£513,804	16	1
,, balance at Smith, Payne, & Smith's*	10,152	17	5			
,, petty cash	31	1	0			
,, disbursements	4,347	15	3			
				14,531	13	8
				£528,336	9	9

As in the subscriptions sent to Manchester, so in the Mansion House fund, every part of the civilised world was represented, and no less a sum than £183,031. 2s. 5d. was sent from the British colonies or from foreign countries, and a list of these subscriptions will no doubt be interesting to the reader.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE OPERATIVES RELIEF FUND.

A Return, showing the Names of the several Places Abroad which Sent Subscriptions to the Mansion House Relief Committee, in Aid of the above Fund, and the respective Amount Sent from each Place.

EUROPE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Austria—						
Belgrade	10	0	0			
Smyrna	10	0	0			
Trieste	122	12	8			
Venice	5	0	0			
				147	12	8
Belgium—						
Brussels	98	18	8			
Bruges	28	1	0			
Ostend	26	0	0			
				152	19	8
Channel Islands—						
Guernsey	1,029	0	0			
Jersey	509	3	2			
Alderney	5	0	0			
				1,543	3	2
Denmark—						
Copenhagen	103	18	7			
Schleswig	13	8	0			
				117	6	7
Carried forward . .				£1,961	2	1

* Grants to the amount of £930 were made from this balance on 6th June.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
France— Brought forward				1,961	2	1
Paris	974	6	5			
Lyons	1,260	4	3			
Bagnares-en-Bagorre	20	13	0			
Biarritz	25	0	0			
Boulogne	148	10	0			
Bordeaux	133	10	3			
Caen	14	0	0			
Calais	76	4	6			
Dinan	32	14	2			
Dunkirk	10	0	0			
Elboueff	5	0	0			
Havre	22	0	3			
Lille	175	10	4			
Marseilles	54	6	9			
Mentone	31	11	0			
Nantes	10	0	0			
Nice	673	0	0			
Pau	45	1	1			
St. Germain-en-Laye	30	6	0			
St. Etienne	5	0	0			
Tours	37	2	7			
				3,784	0	7
Germany—						
Baden Baden	35	14	2			
Heidelberg	7	15	0			
Leipsic	5	3	5			
Munich	23	16	5			
Stuttgart	49	9	0			
Wiesbaden	45	5	0			
				167	3	0
Gibraltar				924	3	3
Greece—						
Athens and the Piræus				25	0	0
Holland—						
Amsterdam	67	5	3			
The Hague	46	10	0			
Rotterdam	244	5	0			
				358	0	3
Ionian Islands—						
Cephalonia	7	1	4			
Cerigo	9	1	6			
Corfu	20.	0	0			
				36	2	10
Italy—						
Bronte	3	0	0			
Florence	507	15	4			
				510	15	4
Carried forward				£7,766	7	4

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Italy (continued)— Brought forward		7,766 7 4
Genoa	42 19 3	
Leghorn	56 5 9	
Messina	92 15 6	
Milan	43 11 0	
Naples	153 0 0	
Palermo	175 0 0	
Stettin	2 2 0	
Sampierdarena	20 0 0	
		585 13 6
Malta		97 6 11
Portugal—		
Lisbon	602 0 0	
Oporto	178 10 0	
		780 10 0
Prussia—		
Aix-la-Chapelle	30 3 8	
Crefold	20 0 0	
Creusnach	5 1 8	
		55 5 4
Russia—		
St. Petersburg	969 13 4	
Archangel	33 6 8	
Cronstadt	23 11 2	
		1,026 11 2
Spain—		
Bilboa	122 0 0	
Grenada	64 4 3	
Malaga	100 16 10	
		287 1 1
Sweden—		
Stockholm	59 10 0	
Gothenberg	157 13 5	
		217 3 5
Switzerland—		
Basle	218 13 2	
Geneva	119 19 10	
Lausanne	108 5 0	
La Ture	36 10 0	
Lucerne	40 0 0	
Montreaux	128 13 1	
Zurich	143 2 11	
		795 4 0
Turkey—		
Galatz, Ibraila, Toultcha, and Sulina		300 0 0
ASIA.		
Aden		35 9 8
Beloochistan		40 0 0
Carried forward		£11,986 12 5

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Burmah— Brought forward		11,986 12 5
Moulmein		62 0 0
Ceylon		1,587 0 10
China—		
Amoy	664 11 8	
Canton	503 4 0	
Foo Chow	423 19 2	
Hong Kong	6,492 11 9	
Kew Kiang	249 2 6	
Macao	50 0 0	
Shanghai	4,834 13 7	
Taku Forts	119 1 4	
		13,337 4 0
India—		
Calcutta	54,021 18 9	
Bombay	39,329 11 9	
Madras	7,772 7 8	
Bareilly	2,956 0 8	
Bulundshuhur	78 7 7	
Bangalore	90 9 10	
Baroda	95 15 0	
Cannanore	38 9 0	
Gorrickpore	71 17 7	
Hyderabad	24 6 5	
Jeypore	20 0 0	
Kurrachee	866 7 11	
Lahore	19 19 9	
Mhow	77 4 0	
Negapatam	23 7 0	
Oude	20 0 0	
Peshawur	5 0 0	
Puttiala	1,979 13 4	
Rajpootana	5 0 0	
Sanaweir	20 0 0	
Saharumpore	5 15 7	
Sealkote	27 0 0	
Simla	202 8 6	
Surat	516 2 5	
Tutacorin	25 0 0	
		108,292 2 9
Japan—		
Yokohama		572 0 0
Java—		
Batavia		514 6 6
Luzon—		
Manilla		518 5 10
Penang		1,286 19 6
Carried forward		£138,156 11 10

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Persia— Brought forward		138,156 11 10
Tabreez		35 8 0
Singapore		1,233 19 4
Turkey—		
Bagdad	122 13 2	
Jerusalem	9 6 2	
		131 19 4
AFRICA.		
British Kaffraria		500 0 0
Cape Colony—		
Cape Town	120 10 5	
Cradock	346 19 9	
Kalberg	17 0 0	
Port Elizabeth	65 0 0	
		549 10 2
Natal—		
D'Urban	834 5 2	
Pietermaritzburg	630 14 0	
Queen's Town	56 13 0	
		1,521 12 2
Ascension Island		37 6 5
Egypt		1,000 0 0
Gambier River		2 0 0
Madeira		50 0 0
Mauritius		72 17 7
Morocco		133 5 7
Teneriffe		10 0 0
AMERICA, NORTH.		
Canada—		
Montreal	7,032 15 2	
Toronto	5,229 16 6	
Quebec	2,622 12 10	
Almonte	97 18 0	
Ancaster	153 6 0	
Belville	140 3 0	
Beckwith	81 9 0	
Barrie	50 7 2	
Beverley	144 19 6	
Blanchard	13 0 9	
Bowmanville	68 17 5	
Brentford	20 5 5	
Brockville	129 7 8	
Buffalo and Lake Huron Railway	161 17 8	
Carleton	199 11 2	
Cavan	29 0 0	
Coburg	326 4 9	
Cornwall	118 18 9	
		16,620 10 9
Carried forward		£160,055 1 2

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Canada (continued)— Brought forward				160,055	1	2
Dundas	139	2	10			
Elgin	470	0	0			
Erannosa	55	3	2			
Garafrana	20	9	0			
Goderich	217	2	4			
Guelph	251	17	7			
Haldinand	312	13	6			
Hamilton	1,071	0	0			
Hay and Huron	5	18	2			
Kincardine	30	10	10			
Kingston	557	7	3			
Lambton	214	1	7			
Lancaster	20	9	3			
Leeds and Grenville	81	1	7			
Nassau	46	0	0			
Newcastle	24	11	5			
Norfolk	202	16	0			
Oakville	25	0	0			
Ottawa	300	0	0			
Owen Sound	83	4	0			
Peterborough	498	12	6			
Picton	100	0	0			
Prescott	10	0	0			
Prince Edward's County	200	0	0			
Port Hope	141	0	0			
Puislinch	103	13	0			
Reach	32	18	8			
St. Catherines	133	17	4			
Sarnia	76	5	7			
Seymour	6	0	0			
Sherlock	83	18	1			
Simcoe	523	12	3			
Smith's Falls	56	1	7			
Tilsonburg	11	0	10			
Waterloo and Woolwich	94	13	9			
Welland	30	6	0			
West Iona	21	6	1			
West Oxford	24	3	0			
Whitby	94	10	2			
Woodstock	204	17	3			
Columbia, British—						
Victoria	1,174	15	1			
Panaimo	76	7	3			
New Brunswick	101	0	5			
Newfoundland	13	7	6			
				7,940	14	10
Carried forward				£167,995	16	0

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Canada (continued)— Brought forward		167,995 16 0
Nova Scotia	51 5 0	
Prince Edward's Island	365 0 5	
		416 5 5
Mexico—		
Matamoras	158 10 11	
Tampico	135 0 0	
Mexico	16 0 0	
		309 10 11
United States—		
New York	145 0 0	
Milwaukie	10 0 0	
New Orleans	5 0 0	
		160 0 0
West Indies—		
Antigua	101 16 8	
Bahamas	1,079 19 4	
Barbadoes	168 3 11	
Bermudas	39 14 6	
Dominica	5 0 0	
Hayti	515 11 6	
Jamaica	620 1 0	
St. Lucia	16 11 9	
Trinidad	5 0 0	
		2,551 18 8
AMERICA, SOUTH.		
Argentine Republic		10 0 0
Brazil—		
Bahia	174 11 0	
St. John del Rey	56 10 2	
		231 1 2
British Guiana—		
Berbice		64 13 11
Chili—		
Copiapo	178 0 0	
Costa Rica	80 0 0	
		258 0 0
Columbia—		
Bogota		10 10 0
Falkland Islands		24 0 3
Panama—		
Aspinwall		26 4 0
Paraguay—		
Ascension		121 4 0
Peru—		
Lima and Callao	1,345 4 7	
Iquique	40 1 8	
		1,385 6 3
Uruguay—		
Monte Video		775 14 6
Carried forward		£174,340 5 1

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward		174,340 5 1
AUSTRALASIA.		
New South Wales—		
Sydney		191 17 0
Queensland—		
Brisbane	218 17 7	
Darling Downs	26 3 0	
		245 0 7
South Australia		
Adelaide		3,992 11 0
Tasmania—		
Hobart Town		872 0 0
Victoria—		
Melbourne	365 0 0	
Geelong	43 7 2	
		408 7 2
Western Australia—		
Perth		776 5 5
POLYNESIA.		
New Zealand—		
Auckland	571 18 6	
Blenheim	48 5 9	
Canterbury	1,213 0 0	
Port Napier	2 0 0	
Taranaki	365 13 2	
		2,200 17 5
MELANESIA.		
New Caledonia		3 18 9
		£183,031 2 5

CHAPTER XI.

Origin of the Central Committee—Meeting in Manchester Town Hall—Reasons for Doing Nothing—Proposal for Loans to the Poor—Meeting at Bridgewater House—Revolution in Central Executive—Mr. Cobden on the Prospects of the Operatives—Formation of a Collecting Committee—Character of the Manchester Subscription—*The Times* and Professor Kingsley—The County Meetings—Lord Derby the Advocate of the Helpless—The Bridgewater House Principle of Distribution and High Poor Rates—How Rich Traders Escape the Poor Rate—The Manchester District Provident Society—The Rival Committees at Ashton—Various Rates of Relief—Disciplinary Labour—Origin of the Adult Schools—The Australian Fund Appropriated to Education—Misunderstanding in the Colony—Effects of the Schools—Manual for Relief Committees—Tabular Return of School Attendances.

On 29th April, 1862, a meeting of gentlemen residents, called by Thomas Goadsby, Esq., mayor of Manchester, was held in the Town Hall of that city, to consider the propriety of forming a relief committee. The general opinion expressed at the meeting was that there was no necessity for any other than existing agencies to deal with the distress, and a majority decided against taking any action. The view of the gentlemen present appears to have been confined to Manchester, including Salford, which, from its cosmopolitan character, must always suffer less in commercial crises than the surrounding towns, where the bulk of the population is dependent upon the cotton manufacture. In Easter week a great fair is annually held on Camp Field, in the west end of Manchester, which is attended by all the holiday-makers of the district, for many miles around. Theatrical booths, wild beast shows, exhibitions of giants and dwarfs, tents for equestrian and acrobatic performances, &c., &c., then fill the space upon which, in the early annals of Britain, the soldiers of the Roman empire were once encamped; the stalls of itinerant confectioners and toy dealers occupy half the width of the main streets in the vicinity, and the throng of visitors at night is frequently so great that a nimble acrobat would find no difficulty in running for half a mile upon the shoulders of the people. The corporation of Manchester derives

considerable revenue from these street tenants of a week, and one of the arguments for doing nothing used at the above-named meeting was that "Knott Mill fair" had been very successful; and another was that the rents of cottages owned by the speaker were being very well paid. Persons removed to a distance, either by space or time, are often better judges of events than those who are on the spot, or who are engaged in the transactions under review. The country was already alive to the troubles of Lancashire. The newspaper press was urging all influential persons to immediate exertion. The Lord Mayor of London had a fortnight before announced his willingness to receive subscriptions, and money was pouring into the Mansion House fund; whilst a meeting of influential gentlemen, in the centre of the distressed district itself, decided, after due consideration, to do nothing. And the majority of the meeting were earnest and conscientious in the decision to which they came; their conclusion implied no want of sympathy in real suffering, but simply a belief that the distress was not so great as it was represented to be; that the agencies already at work were sufficient for the occasion; and that certainly no outside help was needed for Manchester. The editor of *The Telegraph* newspaper, laudably anxious for a thorough knowledge of the state of affairs, and anxious also to learn how his powerful pen could be made most useful for help, is said to have found the spirit of independence in Manchester Town Hall so strong that he, as an outsider, was scarcely received with courtesy; nevertheless he appealed to his numerous readers on behalf of the suffering poor, and afterwards made the central executive his debtor, by remittances of £6,302. 12s. 6d. But there were men in Manchester who saw farther than the majority of the meeting; and who, as the dark cloud continued to gather, resolved to make another effort.

In the course of one short month the mayor found himself compelled to convene a second meeting; this time to consider the propriety of adopting a scheme for loans to the unemployed operatives. It was argued in the meeting that the independence of the Lancashire character was so great that the workmen would much more readily accept loans than donations; and that it was most important to preserve this feature of self-reliance by lending present help in a manner which would not pauperise. On the other hand, it was urged that manliness was much more likely to

be destroyed in men over-burdened with debt, than in those who accepted a free gift to help them through a trouble which arose from no fault of their own; and that it would be much better for the future of such men, to let them start free from all unnecessary incumbrances when trade revived. It is very likely that if the proposers of loans had foreseen three and a half years suspension of labour, they would have been startled at the magnitude of the necessary accounts to be opened and managed; and would have given up their project from the thorough hopelessness of repayment. There were also advocates in this second meeting for the "do nothing" policy, but they were outnumbered; and it was ultimately resolved to adjourn for a week to give time for practical suggestions. But the movers of the adjournment had already decided what to do; and in the interval the formation of a committee was announced, with the name, but, as stated at the adjourned meeting, without the authority, of Mr. J. W. Maclure for honorary secretary. This list was composed principally of Manchester men, and to it were afterwards added the mayors and ex-mayors of all the boroughs in the cotton districts.

At the adjourned meeting, it was announced that ten Manchester gentlemen had subscribed £100 each towards a relief fund, and that the incumbent of Cheltenham (the Rev. E. Walker, formerly of St. Jude's, Manchester) had made a collection in his church, amounting to £384, for the same purpose. These subscriptions settled the question as to the character of the fund to be raised; but the resolution adopted by the meeting, although it extended the care of the committee to the whole of the cotton district, yet showed that they had still a very inadequate conception of the crisis, for it only engaged them to receive and distribute, but not to collect, funds for the operatives. The London and provincial newspapers still urged energetic action, and on 19th July a meeting was held in London of the noblemen and members of parliament connected with Lancashire. This meeting, called at the joint suggestion of Colonel Wilson Patten, M.P., and the Earl of Derby, was held at Bridgewater House, and the subscription originated in the room reached in five days the sum of £17,000, and ultimately amounted to £52,000. Lord Derby was constituted chairman, Colonel Patten, treasurer, and Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, honorary secretary of the committee. The Manchester

subscription, at this date, was about £30,000, collected by local committees which were afterwards allied with the central executive, with the addition of sums voluntarily sent in without canvassing. Lord Derby immediately took an active interest in the work, and, after some conversation with Mr. Maclure, in which the desirableness of having only one principal relief committee was discussed, it was arranged that if the executive at Manchester could be reconstituted, so as to render it more influential, the Bridgewater House committee would send its funds to Manchester for distribution. A consultation with the committee which had been formed at Liverpool led to a similar agreement, and the result was that a new list for a central executive was drawn up, to which the name of Mr. Farnall (the special commissioner of the poor-law board) was afterwards added, at his own request, by Mr. Maclure. The committee, as reconstituted, embraced noblemen and gentlemen of every shade of religious and political opinion, but they were all men of wealth and influence in their various localities. When, at the next meeting of the general committee, the proposal for re-organisation was made, with the statement that only on these conditions could the co-operation of the Bridgewater House and Liverpool committees be obtained, there was a general feeling that some underhand influence had been at work to revolutionise the executive; but the advantage of united action was so great, and the necessity so pressing, that the dissatisfaction only found expression in earnest whispers, and the resolution appointing the new executive was passed unanimously. If at this time the general committee had been formally dissolved, the working of the system of relief would scarcely have been affected; for they had really and knowingly superseded themselves, and could very seldom afterwards be said to render any effective service. The business of general discussion was now over, the time for active work was at hand; and the future meetings of the general committee listened to the reports of the central executive very much as the House of Lords listens to money bills, knowing that they must pass them whether they like them or not; and very soon the attendances fell off, until practically the meeting of the general committee was simply an adjournment of the executive into another room to read over again their own proceedings; but with the mayor of Manchester, instead of Lord Ellesmere, or his successor, Lord Derby, for chairman. Subscriptions

in money and in kind poured rapidly in, but not so rapidly as in the estimation of the best judges of the crisis was necessary for the occasion.

There was one notable exception to the routine of the general committee, when, at a special meeting (3rd November, 1862), Lord Derby, in the absence of the mayor, being chairman, the late Mr. Cobden attended, and recommended a bold appeal to the whole country; declaring with prophetic keenness of vision that not less than £1,000,000 would be required to carry the suffering operatives through the crisis, whilst the subscriptions up to that date amounted only to £180,000. On the motion for a vote of thanks to the mayor of Manchester, who was retiring from the mayoralty—

Mr. Cobden, M.P., said: "Before that resolution is passed I will take the opportunity of making an observation. I have had the honour of having my name added to this committee, and the first thing I asked of my neighbour here was—'What are the functions of the general committee?' And I have heard that they amount to nothing more than to attend here once a month, and receive the report of the executive committee as to the business done and the distribution of the funds. I was going to suggest to you whether the duties of the general committee might not be very much enlarged—whether it might not be employed very usefully in increasing the amount of subscriptions. I think all our experience must have taught us that, with the very best cause in the world in hand, the success of a public subscription depends very much upon the amount of activity in those who solicit it; and I think, in order to induce us to make a general and national effort to raise additional funds in this great emergency, it is only necessary to refer to and repeat one or two facts that have been stated in this report just read to us. I find it stated that it is estimated that the loss of wages at present is at the rate of £136,094 per week, and there is no doubt that the savings of the working classes are almost exhausted. Now, £136,094 per week represents upwards of £7,000,000 sterling per annum, and that is the rate at which the deduction is now being made from the wages of labour in this district. I see it stated in this report that the resources which this committee can at present foresee that it will possess to relieve this amount of distress are £25,000 a month for the next five months, which is at the rate of £300,000 per annum; so that we

foresee at present the means of affording a relief of something less than five per cent upon the actual amount of the loss of wages at present incurred by the working classes of this country. But I need not tell honourable gentlemen present, who are so practically acquainted with this district, that that loss of seven millions in wages per annum is a very imperfect measure of the amount of suffering and loss which will be inflicted on this community three or four months hence. It may be taken to be £10,000,000; and that £10,000,000 of loss of wages before the next spring is by no means a measure of the loss this district will incur, for you must take it that the capitalists will be incurring also a loss on their fixed machinery and buildings; and though perhaps not so much as that of the labourer, it will be a very large amount, and possibly, in the opinion of some people, will very nearly approach it. That is not all: Mr. Farnall has told us that at present the increase of the rates in this district is at the rate of £10,000 per week. That will be at the rate of half a million per annum, and, of course, if this distress goes on, that rate must be largely increased, perhaps doubled. This shows the amount of pressure which is threatening this immediate district. I have always been of opinion that this distress and suffering must be cumulative to a degree which few people have ever foreseen, because your means of meeting the difficulty will diminish just in proportion as the difficulty will increase. Mr. Farnall has told us that one-third of the ratable property will fall out of existence as it were, and future rates must be levied upon two-thirds. But that will be by no means the measure of the condition of things two or three months hence, because every additional rate forces out of existence a large amount of salable property, and the more you increase your rates the more you diminish the area over which those rates are to be productive. This view of the case has a very important bearing, also, upon the condition of the shopkeeping class as well as the classes of mill-owners and manufacturers who have not a large amount of floating capital. There is no doubt but a very large amount of the shop-keeping class are rapidly falling into the condition of the unemployed labourers. When I was at Rochdale the other day I heard a very sorrowful example of it. There was a poor woman who kept a shop, and she was threatened with a distraint for her poor-rate. She sold the Sunday clothes of her son to pay the poor-rate, and she

received a relief-ticket when she went to leave her rate. That is a sad and sorrowful example, but I am afraid it will not be a solitary one for a long time. Then you have the shopkeeping class descending to the rank of the operatives. It must be so. Withdraw the custom of £7,000,000 per annum which has ceased to be paid in wages from the shopkeepers, and the consequence must present itself to any rational mind. We have then another class—the young men of superior education employed in warehouses and counting-houses. A great number of these will rapidly sink to the condition in which you find the operative classes. All this will add to the distress and the embarrassment of this part of the kingdom. Now, to meet this state of things, you have the poor-law relief, which is the only relief we can rely upon, except that which comes from our own voluntary exertions. Well, but any one who has read over this report of Mr. Farnall, just laid before us, must see how inadequate this relief must be. It runs up from one shilling and a halfpenny in the pound to one shilling and fourpence or one shilling and fivepence; there is hardly one case in which the allowance is as much as two shillings per week for each individual—I won't call them paupers—each distressed individual. Now, there is one point to which I would wish to bring the attention of the committee in reference to this subject—it is a most important one in my appreciation. In ordinary times, when you give relief to the poor, that relief being given when the great mass of workpeople are in full employment, the measure of your relief to an isolated family or two that may be in distress is by no means the measure of the amount of their subsistence, because we all know that in prosperous times, when the bulk of the working people are employed, they are always kind to each other. The poor, in fact, do more to relieve the poor than any other class. A working man and his family out of employment in prosperous times could get a meal at a neighbour's house, just as we, in our class, could get a meal at a neighbour's house if it was a convenience to us in making a journey. But recollect that now the whole mass of the labouring and working population is brought down to one sad level of destitution, and what you allow them from the poor-rates, and what you allow them from these voluntary subscriptions, are actually the measure of all that they will obtain for their subsistence. And that being so general, producing a great depression of spirits

as well as physical prostration, you are in great danger of the health and strength of this community suffering, unless something more be done to meet the case than I fear is yet provided for it. All this brings me to this conclusion—that something more must be done by this general committee than has been done to awaken the attention of the public generally to the condition of this part of the country. It is totally exceptional. The state of things has no parallel in all history. It is impossible you could point out to me another case, in which, in a limited sphere, such as we have in Lancashire, and in the course of a few months, there has been a cessation of employment at the rate of £7,000,000 sterling per annum in wages. There has been nothing like it in the history of the world for its suddenness, for the impossibility of dealing with it, or managing it in the way of an effective remedy. Well, the country at large must be made acquainted with these facts. How is that to be done? It can only be by the diffusion of information from this central committee. An appeal must be made to the whole country if this great destitution is to be met in any part by voluntary aid. The nation at large must be made fully acquainted with the exigency of the case, and we must be reminded that a national responsibility rests upon us. I will, therefore, suggest that this general committee should be made a national committee, and we shall then get rid of this little difficulty with the lord mayor. We shall want all the co-operation of the lord mayor and the city of London, and I say that this committee, instead of being a Manchester or Lancashire central committee, should be made a national committee; that from this should go forth invitations to all parts of the country, beginning with the lords-lieutenant, inviting them to be vice-presidents of this committee. Let the noble lord continue to be at the head of the general committee—the national committee—and invite every mayor to take part. We are going to have new mayors in the course of the week, and, though I am sorry to lose our present one, yet when new mayors come in they may be probably more ready to take up a new undertaking than if they had just been exhausted with a year's labour. Let every mayor in the kingdom be invited to become a member of this committee. Let subscription circulars be despatched to them asking them to organise a committee in every borough; and let there be a

secretary and honorary secretary employed. Through these bodies you might communicate information, and counteract those misrepresentations that have been made with regard to the condition of this district. You might, if necessary, send an ambassador to some of those more important places; but better still if you could induce them to send some one here to look into the state of things for themselves; because I am sure if they did, so far from finding the calumnies that have been uttered against the propertied classes in this county being well founded, they would find instances—and not a few—of great liberality and generosity, such as I think would surprise any one who visited this district from the southern part of the kingdom. This would only be done by an active effort from the centre here, and I submit that we shall not be doing justice to this effort unless we give to the whole country an opportunity of co-operating in that way, and throw upon every part of the kingdom a share of the responsibility of this great crisis and emergency. I submit that there is every motive why this community, as well as the whole kingdom, should wish to preserve this industrious population in health and in the possession of their energies. There is every motive why we should endeavour to keep this working population here rather than drive them away from here, as you will do if they are not sufficiently fed and clothed during the next winter. They will be wanted again if this district is to revive as we all hope and believe it will revive. Your fixed capital here is of no use without the population. It is of no use without your raw material. Lancashire is the richest county in the kingdom when its machinery is employed; it is the poorest county in the kingdom when its machinery and fixed capital are paralysed, as at present. Therefore, I say it is the interest not only of this community but of the kingdom that this population should be preserved for the time—I hope not a distant time, when the raw material of their industry will be supplied to this region. I submit then to the whole kingdom—this district as well as the rest—that it will be advisable, until parliament meets, that such an effort should be made as will make a national subscription amount probably to £1,000,000. Short of that it would be utterly insufficient for the case; and I believe that with an energetic appeal made to the whole country, and an effort organised such as I have indicated, such an amount might be raised."

At a meeting of the central executive, held at the close of the general meeting, and at which Lord Derby also presided—

"The honorary secretary (Mr. Maclure) reported that cheques for the amounts voted at the last meeting had been forwarded to the various districts and duly acknowledged, and that the amount received and promised during the past week was £9,175. 8s. 9d. Letters had also been received from the bishops of Durham and Hereford enclosing copies of letters to their clergy. The clothing sub-committee had met and ordered the despatch of all clothing specially consigned, and voted forty thousand articles to the various district committees. The sub-committee for the division of the district had also met and carried out the duty intrusted to it. In order to prepare the report, the hon. secretary stated that he had issued circulars to every board of guardians and relief committee in the district, and he was therefore confident in stating that the figures given in the report were reliable as a correct return for the week ending October 25. In addition to the twenty-four unions referred to, he regretted to find that in four other small unions distress was becoming very severe, as compared with the corresponding week last year. In The Fylde there was an increase of two hundred and nine; Garstang, two hundred and eighty-three; Hayfield, three hundred and thirty-six; Saddleworth, one thousand five hundred and eight recipients of relief. The honorary secretary further stated that he had received three thousand needles from Messrs. John James and Son, of Redditch, and also a letter from the Rev. E. Walker, of Cheltenham, who sent the first amount to this fund, stating that a second collection had been made, at the request of the bishop of Bath and Wells, in that town, amounting to £1,076. 1s. 7d."

It thus appears that the central executive were slowly awakening to the necessity of some more active effort, and the minutes show that they had already written to the lords-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire with a view to county meetings; and it was at that time hoped that an appeal to these two counties would be sufficient. They had already adopted the plan of deprecating public discussion; they were for doing everything quietly, and although they were often far from unanimous, and sometimes even not very courteous amongst themselves, all which came before the public was the act of the committee, and appeared to have been adopted

unanimously. But Mr. Cobden was not in their secrets; he had not been informed of what was done or doing, and spoke only in accordance with a rapidly growing feeling that it was quite time to put off the genteel and to go thoroughly and earnestly to work. The speech of Mr. Cobden fairly roused the general committee, but as there was no question before the meeting, except the formal vote of thanks to the mayor, and as no previous arrangement had been made for a motion, each one looked round upon the others when he sat down, and in the confusion which ensued, Lord Derby vacated the chair. This incident was treated in one of the local papers as an intentional discourtesy to Mr. Cobden, and brought forth an earnest disclaimer from the noble lord at the next meeting, when, also in accordance with Mr. Cobden's suggestion, a collecting committee, with power to add to its number, was appointed. Manchester was then divided into districts and apportioned for canvassing; and by the end of January, 1863, there had been collected, in Manchester and Salford, by this and the various local committees, not less than £130,000. It was at last really felt that if the people were to be saved from famine and pestilence, a great effort was necessary; that if Manchester did not need help from without, it had a duty to perform to the smaller places, whose industry continually enriched its merchants and traders; and the effort was made, and was nobly responded to. Never were donations so freely or so generally given. Men accustomed to the sneers and excuses which are commonly incident to begging, in however good a cause, were astonished; for they found themselves very generally thanked for having undertaken the duty, and were everywhere encouraged to persevere. And it was not so much the amount of money immediately realised, as the character of the gifts which was most worthy of remark. In very many cases the donations were not in a lump sum, but with a proper appreciation of the uncertain term of the pressure, monthly subscriptions were announced, to last as long as the necessity existed. And if the general public had been less liberal, these Manchester subscriptions would have realised a much larger sum; for the income from this source was very considerable, when the conclusion was arrived at that the fund did not need further active exertion. During the winter of 1862-3 a ladies' committee was formed in Manchester, with the wife of the ex-mayor (Alderman Goadsby) at its head; and a special fund was raised, to release from pawn the clothes of the almost

naked operatives, who had been forced to part with every spare garment for food; and hundreds of poor families found themselves unexpectedly provided against the inclement wintry weather from this source. Many leading articles in *The Times* newspaper were devoted to the advocacy of general subscriptions throughout the country, combining at the same time severe animadversions upon the manufacturers and merchants of Lancashire, who, it was declared, were shirking their duty; whilst the Rev. Professor Kingsley occupied the correspondence columns of that paper by comparisons of the amounts of poor-rate paid in Lancashire and the towns of Wessex, and pointed to a heavier poor-rate as the proper mode of relief. He joined also in the charges against the manufacturers and merchants, and said that the people of Wessex would give, in order to keep the Lancashire operatives from starvation, but they would give grudgingly, and as feeling that they were performing the duties of others. These articles were copied and commented upon by local papers throughout the kingdom, and led to much correspondence with places where there was a willingness to help, but also a desire to be satisfied that the help given would not simply save the pockets of those upon whom the duty was more direct. Deputations from Manchester were asked for, to attend public meetings for the origination of subscriptions, and gentlemen were sent to Marylebone, to Bath, to Newcastle-on-Tyne, to Stoke-upon-Trent, and other places, which course gave almost unanimous satisfaction, and resulted in every case in large subscriptions. And here it may be proper to say, that from the commencement to the close of the work of the central committee, notwithstanding that deputations were very numerous and travelling expenses very heavy, not one penny of the funds intrusted for distribution amongst the poor was ever abstracted for these purposes.

A considerable number of county meetings were held, in compliance with the request of the collecting committee; and there was scarcely a borough or parish in the kingdom in which the wealthy and the patriotic did not freely respond to the cry of distress. Of course the meeting of the county of Lancaster was looked forward to with great interest, and its delay till the 2nd December, provoked many an ill-natured sneer, and sharpened many of the arrows which anonymous writers let fly at the "wealthy and neglectful residents who were shirking their manifest duty in the

midst of this dire distress." It certainly seems a difficult matter to explain why this meeting should have been so long delayed; why the rich men who, if at home, could not pass a day without hearing the wail of the breadless, should not earlier have been called upon to set an example of liberality and philanthropy; but it is cheering to know that after the meeting did take place, no more was heard of Lancashire failing in its duty. The thirteen hundred circulars issued by Earl Sefton, the lord-lieutenant, brought together such a gathering of rank, and wealth, and influence, as is not often to be witnessed; and the eloquent advocate of class distinctions and aristocratic privileges (the Earl of Derby) became on that day the powerful and successful representative of the poor and helpless. Called upon by the chairman, the Earl of Derby said:

"My Lord Sefton, my Lords and Gentlemen,—We are met together upon an occasion which must call forth the most painful, and at the same time ought to excite, and I am sure will excite, the most kindly feelings of our human nature. We are met to consider the best means of palliating—would to God that I could say removing!—a great national calamity, the like whereof in modern times has never been witnessed in this favoured land—a calamity which it was impossible for those who are the chief sufferers by it to foresee, or if they had foreseen to have taken any steps to avoid—a calamity which, though shared by the nation at large, falls more peculiarly and with the heaviest weight upon this hitherto prosperous and wealthy district—a calamity which has converted this teeming hive of industry into a stagnant desert of compulsory inaction and idleness—a calamity which has converted that which was the source of our greatest wealth into the deepest abyss of impoverishment—a calamity which has impoverished the wealthy, which has reduced men of easy fortunes to the greatest straits, which has brought distress upon those who have hitherto been somewhat above the world by the exercise of frugal industry, and which has reduced honest and struggling poverty to a state of absolute and humiliating destitution. Gentlemen, it is to meet this calamity that we are met together this day to add our means and our assistance to those efforts which have been so nobly made throughout the country generally, and, I am bound to say, in this county also, as I shall prove to you before I conclude my remarks. Gentlemen, I know how impossible it is by any figures to convey

an idea of the extent of the destitution which now prevails, and I know also how impatient large assemblies are of any extensive use of figures, or even of figures at all; but, at the same time, it is impossible for me to lay before you the whole state of the case, in opening this resolution and asking you to resolve with regard to the extent of the distress which now prevails, without trespassing on your attention by a few, and they shall be a very few, figures, which shall show the extent if not the pressure throughout this district of the present distress. And, gentlemen, I think I shall best give you an idea of the amount of distress and destitution which prevails by very shortly comparing the state of things which existed in the districts to which I refer in the month of September, 1861, as compared with the month of September, 1862, and with that again only about two weeks ago, which is the latest information we have—up to the 22nd of last month. I find then, gentlemen, that in a district comprising, in round numbers, two million inhabitants—for that is about the number in that district—in the fourth week of September, 1861, there were forty-three thousand five hundred persons receiving parochial relief; in the fourth week of September, 1862, there were one hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred and ninety-eight persons receiving parochial relief; and in the short space which elapsed between the last week of September and the third week of November the number of one hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred and ninety-eight had increased to two hundred and fifty-nine thousand three hundred and eighty-five persons. Now, gentlemen, let us in the same periods compare the amount which was applied from the parochial funds to the relief of pauperism. In September, 1861, the amount so applied was £2,259; in September, 1862, it was £9,674. That is by the week. What is now the amount? In November, 1862, it was £17,681 for the week. The proportion of those receiving parochial relief to the total population was two and three-tenths per cent in September, 1861, and eight and five-tenths per cent in September, 1862, and that had become thirteen and five-tenths per cent in the population in November, 1862. Here, therefore, is thirteen per cent of the whole population at the present moment depending for their subsistence upon parochial relief alone. Of these two hundred and fifty-nine thousand—I give only round numbers—there were thirty-six thousand eight hundred old or infirm; there were

nearly ninety-eight thousand able-bodied adults receiving parochial relief, and there were under sixteen years of age nearly twenty-four thousand persons. But it would be very far from giving you an estimate of the extent of the distress if we were to confine our observations to those who are dependent upon parochial relief alone. We have evidence from the local committees, whom we have extensively employed, and whose services have been invaluable to us, that of persons not relieved from the poor-rates there are relieved also by local committees no fewer in this district than one hundred and seventy-two thousand persons—making a total of four hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred and ninety-five persons out of two millions, or twenty-one and seven-tenths per cent on the whole population—that is, more than one in every five persons depend for their daily existence either upon parochial relief or public charity. Gentlemen, I have said that figures will not show sufficiently the amount of distress; nor, in the same manner, will figures show, I am happy to say, the amount that has been contributed for the relief of that distress. But let us take another test; let us examine what has been the result, not upon the poor who are dependent for their daily bread upon their daily labour, and many of whom are upon the very verge of pauperism, from day to day, but let us take a test of what has been the effect upon the well-to-do artisan, upon the frugal, industrious, saving men, who have been hitherto somewhat above the world, and I have here but an imperfect test, because I am unable to obtain the whole amount of deposits withdrawn from the savings banks, the best of all possible tests, if we could carry the account up to the present day; but I have only been able to obtain it to the middle of June last, when the distress could hardly be said to have begun, and yet I find from seven savings banks alone in this county in six months—and those months in which the distress had not reached its present height, or anything like it—there was an excess of withdrawals of deposits over the ordinary average to the amount of £71,113. This was up to June last, when, as I have said, the pressure had hardly commenced, and from that time it has been found impossible to obtain from the savings banks, who are themselves naturally unwilling to disclose this state of affairs—it has been found impossible to obtain such further returns as would enable us to present to you

any proper estimate of the excess of withdrawals at present; but that they have been very large must necessarily be inferred from the great increase of distress which has taken place since the large sum I have mentioned was obtained from the banks, as representing the excess of ordinary withdrawals in June last. Now, gentlemen, figure to yourselves, I beg of you, what a state of things that sum of £71,113, as the excess of the average withdrawals from the savings banks represents; what an amount of suffering does it picture; what disappointed hopes; what a prospect of future distress does it not bring before you for the working and industrious classes? Why, gentlemen, it represents the blighted hopes for life of many a family. It represents the small sum set apart by honest, frugal, persevering industry, won by years of toil and self-denial, in the hope of its being, as it has been in many cases before, the foundation even of colossal fortunes which have been made from smaller sums. It represents the gradual decay of the hopes for his family of many an industrious artisan. The first step in that downward progress which has led to destitution and pauperism is the withdrawal of the savings of honest industry, and that is represented in the return which I have quoted to you. Then comes the sacrifice of some little cherished article of furniture, the cutting off of some little indulgence—the sacrifice of that which gave his home an appearance of additional comfort and happiness—the sacrifice gradually, one by one, of the principal articles of furniture, till at last the well conducted, honest, frugal, saving workingman finds himself on a level with the idle, the dissipated, and the improvident—obliged to pawn the very clothes of his family—nay, the very bedding on which he lies, to obtain the simple means of subsistence from day to day, and encountering all that difficulty and all that distress with the noble independence that would do anything rather than depend upon public or even on private charity, and in his own simple but emphatic language declaring, 'Nay, but we'll *clem* first.' And, gentlemen, this leads me to observe upon a more gratifying point of view, that is, the noble manner, a manner beyond all praise, in which this destitution has been borne by the population of this great county. It is not the case of ordinary labourers who find themselves reduced a trifle below their former means of subsistence, but it is a reduction in the pecuniary comfort, and almost necessaries, of men who have been in the

habit of living, if not in luxury, at least in the extreme of comfort —a reduction to two shillings and three shillings a week from sums which had usually amounted to twenty-five shillings, or thirty shillings, or forty shillings; a cutting off of all their comforts, cutting off all their hopes of future additional comfort, or of rising in life—aggravated by a feeling, an honourable, an honest, but at the same time a morbid feeling, of repugnance to the idea of being indebted under these circumstances to relief of any kind or description. And I may say that, among the difficulties which have been encountered by the local relief committees—no doubt there have been many of those not among the most deserving who have been clamorous for the aid held out to them—but one of the great difficulties of local relief committees has been to find out and relieve struggling and really distressed merit, and to overcome that feeling of independence which, even under circumstances like these, leads them to shrink from being relieved by private charity. I know that instances of this kind have happened; I know that cases have occurred where it has been necessary to press upon individuals, themselves upon the point of starvation, the necessity of accepting this relief; and from this place I take the opportunity of saying, and I hope it will go far and wide, that in circumstances like the present, discreditable as habitual dependence upon parochial relief may be, it is no degradation, it is no censure, it is no possible cause of blame, that any man, however great his industry, however high his character, however noble his feeling of self-dependence, should feel himself obliged to have recourse to that Christian charity which I am sure we are all prepared to give. Gentlemen, I might, perhaps, here, as far as my resolution goes, close the observations I have to make to you. The resolution I have to move, indeed, is one which calls for no extensive argument, and a plain statement of facts, such as that I have laid before you, is sufficient to obtain for it your unanimous assent. The resolution is—

"'That the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and the adjoining counties are suffering from an extent of destitution happily hitherto unknown, which has been borne by the working classes with a patient submission and resolution entitling them to the warmest sympathy of their fellow-countrymen.'

"But, gentlemen, I cannot, in the first place, lose the opportunity of asking this great assembly with what feelings this state

of things should be contemplated by us who are in happier circumstances. Let me say with all reverence that it is a subject for deep national humiliation, and above all, for deep humiliation for this great county. We have been accustomed for years to look with pride and complacency upon the enormous growth of that manufacture which has conferred wealth upon so many thousands, and which has so largely increased the manufacturing population and industry of this country. We have seen within the last twelve or fourteen years the consumption of cotton in Europe increase from fifty thousand to ninety thousand bales a week; we have seen the weight of cotton goods exported from this country in the shape of yarn and manufactured goods amount to no less than nine hundred and eighty-three million pounds in a single year. We have seen, in spite of all opposing circumstances, this trade constantly and rapidly extending; we have seen colossal fortunes made; and we have as a county, perhaps, been accustomed to look down on those less fortunate districts whose wealth and fortunes were built upon a less secure foundation; we have reckoned upon this great manufacture as the pride of our country, and as the best security against the possibility of war, in consequence of the mutual interest between us and the cotton-producing districts. We have held that in the cotton manufacture was the pride, the strength, and the certainty of our future national prosperity and peace. I am afraid we have looked upon this trade too much in the spirit of the Assyrian monarch of old. We have said to ourselves—'Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of my kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?' But in the hour in which the monarch used these words, the word came forth, 'Thy kingdom is departed from thee!' That which was his pride became his humiliation; that which was our pride has become our humiliation and our punishment. That which was the source of our wealth—the sure foundation on which we built—has become itself the instrument of our humiliating poverty, which compels us to appeal to the charity of other counties. The reed upon which we leaned has gone through the hand that reposed on it and has pierced us to the heart. But, gentlemen, we have happier and more gratifying subjects of contemplation. I have pointed to the noble conduct which must make us proud of our countrymen in the manufacturing

districts; I have pointed to the noble and heroic submission to difficulties they could never foresee and privations they never expected to encounter; but, again, we have another feeling which I am sure will not be disappointed, which the country has nobly met—that this is an opportunity providentially given to those who are blessed with wealth and fortune to show their sympathy—their practical, active, earnest sympathy—with the sufferings of their poorer brethren, and, with God's blessing, used as I trust by God's blessing it will be, it may be a link to bind together more closely than ever the various classes in this great community, to satisfy the wealthy that the poor have a claim, not only to their money but to their sympathy—to satisfy the poor also that the rich are not overbearing grinding tyrants, but men like themselves, who have hearts to feel for suffering, and are prompt to use the means God has given to them for the relief of that suffering. Gentlemen, a few words more, and I will not further trespass on your attention. But I feel myself called on, as chairman of that executive committee to which my noble friend in the chair has paid so just a compliment, to lay before you some answer to objections which have been made, and which in other counties, if not in this, may have a tendency to check the contributions which have hitherto so freely flowed in. Before doing so, allow me to say (and I can do it with more freedom because in the earlier stages of its organisation I was not a member of that committee) it is bare justice to them to say that there never was an occasion on which greater or more earnest efforts were made to secure that the distribution of those funds entrusted to them should be guarded against all possibility of abuse, and be distributed without the slightest reference to political or religious opinions; distributed with the most perfect impartiality, and in every locality, through the instrumentality of persons in whom the neighbourhood might repose entire confidence. Such has been our endeavour, and I think to a great extent we have been successful. I may say that although the central executive committee is composed of men of most discordant opinions in politics and religion, nothing for a single moment has interfered with the harmony—I had almost said with the unanimity—of our proceedings. There has been nothing to produce any painful feelings among us, nor any desire on the part of the representatives of

different districts to obtain an undue share for the districts they represented from the common fund. But there are three points on which objection has been taken to the course we have adopted. One has been that the relief we have given has not been given with a sufficiently-liberal hand; the next—and I think I shall show you that these two are inconsistent, the one answering the other—is that there has not been a sufficient pressure on the local rates; and the third is, that Lancashire has not hitherto done its duty with reference to the subscriptions from other parts of the country. Allow me a few words on each of these subjects. First, the amount to which we have endeavoured to raise our subscriptions has been to the extent of from two shillings to two shillings and sixpence weekly per head; in this late cold weather an additional sixpence has been provided, mainly for coal and clothing. Our endeavour has been to raise the total income of each individual to at least two shillings or two shillings and sixpence a week. Now, I am told this is a very inadequate amount, and no doubt it is an amount very far below that which many of the recipients were in the habit of obtaining. But in the first place I think there is some misapprehension when we speak of the sum of two shillings a week. If anybody supposes that two shillings a week is the *maximum* to each individual he will be greatly mistaken. Two shillings a head per week is the sum we endeavoured to arrive at as the average receipt of every man, woman, and child receiving assistance; consequently a man and his wife with a family of three or four small children would receive not two shillings, but ten or twelve shillings from the fund—an amount not far short of that which in prosperous times an honest and industrious labourer in other parts of the country would obtain for the maintenance of his family. I am not in the least afraid that if we had fixed the amount at four shillings or five shillings per head, such is the liberality of the country, we should not have had sufficient means of doing so. But were we justified in doing that? If we had raised their income beyond that of the labouring man in ordinary times, we should have gone far to destroy the most valuable feeling of the manufacturing population—namely, that of honest self-reliance, and we should have done our best, to a great extent, to demoralise a large portion of the population, and induce them to prefer the wages of charitable relief to the return of honest industry. But

then we are told that the rates are not sufficiently high in the distressed districts, and that we ought to raise them before they come on the fund. In the first place, we have no power to compel the guardians to raise the rates beyond that which they think sufficient for the maintenance of those to be relieved, and, naturally considering themselves the trustees of the ratepayers, they are unwilling, and, indeed, ought not to raise the amount beyond that which is called for by absolute necessity. But suppose we had raised the relief from our committee very far beyond the amount thought sufficient by the guardians, what would have been the inevitable result? Why, that the rates which it is desired to charge more heavily would have been relieved, because persons would have taken themselves off the poor-rates, and placed themselves on the charitable committee, and therefore the very object these objectors have in view in calling for an increase of our donations would have been defeated by their own measure. I must say, however, honestly speaking all I feel, that, with regard to the amount of rates, there are some districts which have applied to us for assistance which I think have not sufficient pressure on their rates. Where I find, for example, that the total assessment on the nett ratable value does not exceed ninepence or tenpence in the pound, I really think such districts ought to be called upon to increase their rates before applying for extraneous help. But we have urged as far as we could urge—we have no power to command the guardians to be more liberal in the rate of relief, and to that extent to raise the rates in their districts. And now a word on the subject of raising rates, because I have received many letters in which it has been said that the rates are nothing—'they are only three shillings or four shillings in the pound, while we in the agricultural districts are used to six shillings in the pound. We consider that no extraordinary rate, and it is monstrous,' they say, 'that the accumulated wealth of years in the county of Lancashire should not more largely contribute to the relief of its own distress.' I will not enter into an argument as to how far the larger amount of wages in the manufacturing districts may balance the smaller amount of wages and the larger amount of poor-rates in the agricultural districts. I don't wish to enter into any comparison; I have seen many comparisons of this kind made, but they were full of fallacies from one end to the other. I will not waste your time

by discussing them; but I ask you to consider the effect of a sudden rise of rates as a charge upon the accumulated wealth of a district. It is not the actual amount of the rates, but it is the sudden and rapid increase of the usual rate of the rates that presses most heavily on the ratepayers. In the long run the rates must fall on real property, because all bargains between owner and occupier are made with reference to the amount of rates to be paid, and in all calculations between them that is an element which enters into the first agreement. But when the rate is suddenly increased from one shilling to four shillings, it does not fall on the accumulated wealth or on the real property, but it falls on the occupier, the ratepayer—men the great bulk of whom are at the present moment themselves struggling upon the verge of pauperism. Therefore, if in those districts it should appear to persons accustomed to agricultural districts that the amount of our rates was very small, I would say to them that any attempt to increase those rates would only increase the pauperism, diminish the number of solvent ratepayers, and greatly aggravate the distress. In some of the districts I think the amount of the rates quite sufficient to satisfy the most ardent advocate of high rates. For example, in the town of Ashton they have raised in the course of the year one rate of one shilling and sixpence, another of one shilling and sixpence, and a third of four shillings and sixpence, which it is hoped will carry them over the year. They have also, in addition to these rates, drawn largely on previous balances, and I am afraid have largely added to their debt. The total of what has been or will be expended, with a prospect of even a great increase, in that borough exceeds eleven shillings and elevenpence in the pound for the relief of the poor alone. And, gentlemen, this rate of four shillings and sixpence about to be levied, which ought to yield about £32,000, it is calculated will not yield £24,000. In Stockport the rate is even higher, being twelve shillings or more per pound, and there it is calculated that at the next levy the defalcations will be at least forty per cent, according to the calculation of the poor-law commissioner himself. To talk, then, of raising rates in such districts as these would be absolute insanity; and even in districts less heavily rated any sudden attempt considerably to increase the rate would have the effect of pauperising those who are now solvent, and to augment rather than diminish

the distress of the district. The last point on which I would make an observation relates to the objection which has been taken to our proceedings, on the ground that Lancashire has not done its duty in this distress, and that consequently other parts of the country have been unduly called on to contribute to that which I don't deny properly and primarily belongs to Lancashire. Gentlemen, it is very hard to ascertain with any certainty what has been done by Lancashire, because, in the first place, the amount of local subscriptions and the amount of public contributions by themselves give no fair indication of that which really has been done by public or private charity. I don't mean to say that there are not individuals who have grossly neglected their duty in Lancashire. On the other hand, we know there are many, though I am not about to name them, who have acted with the most princely munificence, liberality, and generous feeling, involving an amount of sacrifice of which no persons out of this county can possibly have the slightest conception. I am not saying there are not instances of niggard feeling, though I am not about to name them, which really it was hardly possible to believe could exist. Will you forgive me if I trespass for a few moments by reading two or three extracts from confidential reports made to us every week from the different districts by a gentleman whose services were placed at our disposal by the government? These reports being, as I have said, confidential, I will not mention the names of the persons, firms, or localities alluded to, though in some instances they may be guessed at. This report was made to us on the 25th of November, and I will quote some of the remarks made in it. The writer observes—'It must not be inferred when such remarks are absent from the reports that nothing is done. I have great difficulty sometimes in overcoming the feeling that my questions on these points are a meddlesome interference in private matters.' Bearing that remark in mind, I say here are instances which I am sure reflect as much credit on the individuals as on the interest they represent and the county to which they belong. I am sure I shall be excused for trespassing on your patience by reading a few examples. He says, under No. 1,—'Nearly three thousand operatives out of the whole, most of them the hands of Messrs. —— and ——. Mr. ——, at his own cost, employs five hundred and fifty-five girls in sewing five days a week, paying them eightpence

a day; sends seventy-six youths from thirteen to fifteen years old, and three hundred and thirty-two adults above fifteen, five days a week to school, paying them from fourpence to eightpence per day, according to age. He also pays the school pence of all the children. Mr. —— has hitherto paid his people two days' wages a week, but he is now preparing to adopt a scheme like Mr. —— to a great extent. I would add that, in addition to wages, Mr. —— gives bread, soup, socks, and clogs. 2. Mr. —— has at his own expense caused fifty to sixty dinners to be provided for sick persons every day. These consist of roast beef or mutton, soup, beef tea, rice puddings, wine, and porter, as ordered; and the forty visitors distribute orders as they find it necessary. Ostensibly all is done in the name of the committee; but Mr. —— pays all the cost. An admirable soup kitchen is being fitted up, where the poor man may purchase a good hot meal for one penny, and either carry it away or consume it on the premises. 3. Messrs. —— are giving to their hands three days' wages (about £500 a week). Messrs. —— and —— are giving their one hundred and twenty hands, and Messrs. —— their two hundred and thirty hands, two days' wages a week. I may mention that Messrs. —— are providing for all their one thousand seven hundred hands. 4. A great deal of private charity exists, one firm having spent £1,400 in money, exclusive of weekly doles of bread. 5. Messrs. —— are providing all their old hands with sufficient clothing and bedding to supply every want, so that their subscription of £50 is merely nominal. 6. The ladies of the village visit and relieve privately with money, food, or clothing, or all, if needed urgently. In a few cases distraint has been threatened, but generally the poor are living rent free. 7. Payment of rent is almost unknown. The agent for several landlords assures me he could not from his receipts pay the property-tax, but no distraints are made. 8. The bulk of the rents are not collected, and distraints are unknown. 9. The millowners are chiefly cottage owners, and are asking for no rents.' That leads me to call your attention to the fact that, in addition to the sacrifices they are making, the millowners are themselves to a large extent the owners of cottages, and I believe, without exception, they are at the present moment receiving no rent, thereby losing a large amount of income they had a right to count upon. I know one case which is curious as showing how great is the difficulty of ascertaining what is really

done. It is required in the executive committee that every committee should send in an account of the local subscriptions. We received an application from a small district where there was one mill, occupied by some young men who had just entered into the business. We returned a refusal, inasmuch as there was no local subscription; but when we came to inquire we found that from last February, when the mill closed, these young men had maintained the whole of their hands, that they paid one-third of the rates of the whole district, and that they were at that moment suffering a yearly loss of £300 in the rent of cottages for which they were not drawing a single halfpenny. That was a case in which we thought it right in the first instance to withhold any assistance, because there appeared to be no local subscription, and it shows how persons at a distance may be deceived by the want apparently of any local subscription. But I will throw out of consideration the whole of those amounts—the whole of this unparalleled munificence on the part of many manufacturers which never appears in any account whatever—I will throw out everything done in private and unostentatious charity, the supplies of bedding, clothing, food, necessaries of every description which do not appear as public subscriptions, and will appeal to public subscriptions alone; and I will appeal to an authority which cannot, I think, be disputed—the authority of the commissioner, Mr. Farnall himself, whose services the government kindly placed at our disposal, and of whose activity, industry, and readiness to assist us it is difficult to speak in too high terms of praise. A better authority could not be quoted on the subject of the comparative support given in aid of this distress in Lancashire and other districts. I find that, excluding altogether the subscriptions in the lord mayor's Mansion House list—of which we know the general amount, but not the sources from which it is derived, or how it is expended—but excluding it from consideration, and dealing only with the funds which have been given or promised to be administered through the central executive committee, I find that, including some of the subscriptions which we know are coming in this day, the total amount which has been contributed is about £540,000. Of that amount we received—and it is a most gratifying fact—£40,000 from the colonies; we received from the rest of the United Kingdom £100,000; and from the county of Lancaster itself, in round numbers, £400,000 out of £540,000.

Now, I hope that these figures, upon the estimate and authority of the government poor-law commissioner, will be sufficient, at all events, to do away with the imputation that Lancashire, at this crisis, is not doing its duty. But if Lancashire has been doing its duty—if it is doing its duty—that is no reason why Lancashire should relax its efforts; and of that I trust the result of this day's proceedings will afford a sufficient testimony. We are not yet at the height of the distress. It is estimated that at the present moment there are three hundred and fifty-five thousand persons engaged in the different manufactories. Of these forty thousand only are in full work; one hundred and thirty-five thousand are at short work, and one hundred and eighty thousand are out of work altogether. In the course of the next six weeks this number is likely to be greatly increased; and the loss of wages is not less than £137,000 a week. This, I say then, is a state of things that calls for the most active exertions of all classes of the community, who, I am happy to say, have responded to the call which has been made upon them most nobly, from the Queen down to the lowest individual in the community. At the commencement of the distress the Queen, with her usual munificence, sent us a donation of £2,000. The first act of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, upon attaining his majority, was to write from Rome and to request that his name should be put down for £1,000. And to go to the other end of the scale, I received two days ago, from Lord Shaftesbury, a donation of £1,200 from some thousands of working men, readers of a particular periodical which he mentioned, the *British Workman*. To that sum Lord Shaftesbury stated many thousands of persons had subscribed, and it embraced contributions even from the brigade of shoe-black boys. On the part of all classes there has been the greatest liberality displayed; and I should be unjust to the working men, I should be unjust to the poor in every district, if I did not say that in proportion to their means they have contributed more than their share. In no case hardly which has come to my knowledge has there been any grudging, and in many cases I know that poor persons have contributed more than common prudence would have dictated. These observations have run to a greater extent than I had intended; but I thought it desirable that the whole case, as far as possible, should be brought before you, and I have only now

earnestly to request that you will this day do your part towards the furtherance of the good work, I have no apprehension, if the distress should not last over five or six months more, that the spontaneous efforts of individuals and public bodies, and contributions received in every part of the country, will fall short of that which is needed for enabling the population to tide over this deep distress; and I earnestly hope that if it be necessary to apply to parliament, as a last resource, the representatives of the country will not grudge their aid; yet I do fervently hope and believe that with the assistance of the machinery of that bill passed in parliament last session (the Rate in Aid Act), which will come into operation shortly after Christmas, but could not possibly be brought into operation sooner, I do fervently hope and believe that this great manufacturing district will be spared the further humiliation of coming before parliament, which ought to be the last resource, as a claimant, a suppliant for the bounty of the nation at large. I don't apprehend that there will be a single dissentient voice raised against the resolution which I have now the honour to move."

An inspection of the list of subscriptions handed in at this meeting, showed that about £70,000 had been added thereby to the relief fund.

The Bridgewater House committee, in handing over their funds to the central executive for distribution, laid down the principle that they should be applied only to such operatives as were not in receipt of relief from boards of guardians—thus opposing directly the doctrine of *The Times* and the Rev. Mr. Kingsley. If a prejudice be ever justifiable, surely that which inculcates a wholesome fear of a board of guardians, and makes a man hate the workhouse (familiarly called, in Lancashire, "th' Bastile"), must take high rank; for it keeps up the feeling of self-reliance under many difficulties, and often stimulates exertion when rest or the expectancy of help from without would be ruin. And there is no doubt that if the central committee had been first in the field, and had determined that, come what would, no well-behaved cotton operative who had been thrown out of work by the cotton famine should be allowed to go to a board of guardians for relief, they would have engaged in a noble but also in a most difficult task; for, clear and well-defined as the term cotton operative appears to be, a little reflection will show that the line between cotton and other operatives

is practically very difficult to draw. Each cotton mill requires "mechanics" (machinists) and joiners for the repairs which are daily needed. Are these cotton operatives? Engineers, carters and labourers, clerks and warehousemen are also required. Are these cotton operatives? The makers of machinery, and the bricklayers, and other operatives in the building trades, who would, under ordinary circumstances, be in full work, preparing and fitting new mills for the natural increase of trade, were also idle. Were all these to be sent to the boards of guardians, whilst the persons who directly handled the cotton fibre were kept away? Or should the whole of the persons whose livings were swept away by the American war be maintained by the relief committees, leaving to the poor-law guardians simply the normal amount of pauperism to deal with? This latter would probably have been the wiser course, if it could have been thought out and planned beforehand, and funds sufficient for the purpose secured; but where were such funds to come from? The workers amongst half a million people, used to average wages of ten shillings each per week, were either already or would probably soon be out of employ. How could they be kept? Evidently funds sufficient could not be calculated upon, and some modification of the Bridgewater House idea was therefore necessary. The normal pauperism of the cotton districts is not quite two per cent, and the average poor-rate ranges from about one shilling to one shilling and sixpence in the pound per annum. If this state of things was to be maintained whilst subscriptions were received from places where the average rate was from three shillings to five shillings in the pound, what reply could be made to such arguments as those of the Rev. Charles Kingsley, who pleaded that the subscriptions raised would go simply in abatement of poor-rates? The law provides a resource for the indigent poor, and makes houses and land responsible to the last penny of their value for the maintenance of the helpless; why should not the poor of every locality be kept by the local property? The only possible reply to such reasoning is the value of the anti-pauper prejudice already alluded to, and the wide-spread ruin which excessive rates would have brought upon shopkeepers, cottage owners, and others, whose mainstay was already gone in the loss of their customers and the indigence of their tenants.

It was argued in the newspapers that property in Lancashire was not doing its duty, and that the only way to reach it was by

higher rates. But those who so argued, did not know that in the most distressed districts cotton mills bear a large proportion of the assessment, and that one half of these were stopped, and yet cost heavy sums to maintain them in idleness, whilst their occupiers had also to pay poor-rates as if they were in full work. And it is only real property which is assessed to the poor, whilst a great proportion of the wealth of our richest men consists of personal property, in the form of goods at home, on the sea, or in foreign lands, together with balances in their ledgers due from various places. Thus a man who is the owner of property to the extent of a million sterling may rent a warehouse at £100 per annum, and be assessed to the poor of the distressed district at five-sixths of that amount; his residence being situate beyond the distressed boundary, and the bulk of his property entirely beyond the reach of the assessors. So that a rate which would crush the poor shopkeeper and cottage owner would scarcely be felt by the rich merchant, or the large stock or fund holder. Level taxes cannot reach the rich; and if duty is to be measured by pecuniary possessions, then there is no course left but voluntary organisations and the power of public opinion to make the owners of property feel that to whom much is given from them much also is required. But even if there had been no other difficulty, the fact that various local committees were already in existence, and had adopted modes of action which could not be at once given up without much difficulty and some danger, would have rendered the suggestion from Bridgewater House impracticable. In Manchester alone there were two or three committees at work collecting and distributing funds, and discussion in the central committee brought about a resolution to affiliate these to the District Provident Society, which had already an organisation for the investigation and relief of cases of distress, and which had for years past also stimulated provident habits, by taking charge of the smallest savings of the poor. But this society had adopted as a practice, whether or not enforced by rule, to relieve, except in rare instances, only such as had already been accepted by the boards of guardians. And in the discussion of the Bridgewater House proposition, one of the committee of this society, replying to the arguments for keeping people away from the parish, said that the best cases of the provident society were parish cases. They might well be so under the existence of such a practical rule as that above alluded to, which, had it been made known at the

time, would possibly have given another turn to the discussion, and have prevented the immediate reconsideration of the resolution of the Bridgewater House committee. Under existing circumstances, the conclusion arrived at was, that each local committee must use its own discretion as to the persons to be sent to the guardians, and those to be kept away, but subject from time to time to instructions from the central executive. The District Provident Society was adopted as the distribution committee for the townships of Manchester and Hulme, and other existing committees in the borough of Manchester were made branches of that society and subjected to its control, whilst Salford had an independent local committee. In dealing with the outlying towns, the central executive decided that in order to secure uniformity of action they would recognise only one committee in each place ; so that where more than one had been already formed it was necessary either for them to unite, or to make a representative committee of one, whilst the others either dissolved or became sub-committees of the principal existing committee.

In Ashton-under-Lyne, where religious and political feeling ran high, there were already two committees: the manor committee and the borough committee. The most active man in the first was the Rev. Mr. Williams, a Church clergyman ; whilst the second committee, of which Mr. Hugh Mason was the most energetic member, excluded clergymen and dissenting ministers. The first, or manor committee, had obtained a grant from the Mansion House fund, which constituted its main pecuniary strength ; whilst the members of the borough committee had subscribed liberally amongst themselves, and thus established a large fund. The central executive had resolved that, so far as possible, each local committee should contain representatives of every religious sect and every political party ; and they sent over a deputation to try to reconcile the two committees at Ashton, and to weld them into one. But in this effort they signally failed ; and being obliged to choose which they would recognise, they adopted the borough committee, because it fairly represented the wealth of the district, had collected the largest funds in the locality, and also consented to modify its own constitution, so as more effectually to represent all sects and parties.

As the constitution of the central executive rendered it in a

rude sense representative of localities, one of its earliest duties was to group the existing committees round certain central points, so that, when the boundaries had been drawn, each member of the central executive might represent the wants of his own locality. Thus, Mr. Platt, M.P., represented not the township of Oldham alone, but also the whole of the committees existing in the poor-law union of Oldham, which comprised committees at Chadderton, Crompton, Hollinwood, Middleton, Royton, Thurnham, and Tonge. The wants and wishes of these various sub-districts were made known to the Oldham committee, and presented on a schedule to the central executive by Mr. Platt, and money was voted in certain proportions, according to the necessity of each case, over the whole district.

The principles by which the executive should regulate its distribution of funds raised some nice points for discussion. It was requisite to secure active exertion in every quarter to meet the emergencies of the crisis; and it was a great object so to distribute funds as to stimulate, rather than supersede, the necessity for a thorough canvass in every locality. It was therefore proposed that before a local committee should be recognised a subscription in the locality must have been raised, and that the sums voted by the executive from time to time should have regard to the amount of funds subscribed, and to the presumed wealth of the district. It was objected that this principle might leave the most needy places without aid, either in consequence of their poverty, or of the niggardliness of the richer inhabitants; but the importance of a strong moral spur to duty was felt to be so great that the principle was ultimately adopted, with the understanding that it was not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, to be inflexibly carried out in every instance. Next came the question of the scale of relief to be allowed. The cotton operatives were accustomed to good wages and good living, and their expenditure for rent and other fixed charges was in accordance therewith. The amounts ordinarily allowed by boards of guardians would make payment of rent impossible, if health was to be maintained; whilst too liberal an allowance would lessen the inclination to seek for independent work, and would thus produce the permanent demoralisation which it was the grand object of the committee to prevent. The central executive ultimately adopted a scale which would average about two shillings per head per week, giving rather more to small and rather less to large families. But

it was a matter of considerable difficulty to assimilate the rates already in use by existing local committees, which varied from two shillings to four shillings and sixpence for a single man, and from seven shillings and sixpence to seventeen shillings and sixpence for a man and wife with five children; and this assimilation was not entirely effected until the month of October, 1863, when, in a manual issued as a guide to the various committees, the executive submitted the following three specimen scales, but allowing also in winter a supply of fuel and clothing in addition :—

	1.	2.	3.
Single person . . .	3s. 6d.	3s. 6d.	3s. 0d.
Man and wife . . .	5s. 6d.	5s. 6d.	5s. 0d.
Man, wife, and 1 child .	6s. 9d.	6s. 9d.	6s. 3d.
Man, wife, and 2 children .	8s. 0d.	8s. 0d.	8s. 0d.
Man, wife, and 3 children .	9s. 9d.	9s. 3d.	9s. 9d.
Man, wife, and 4 children .	11s. 3d.	10s. 11d.	11s. 6d.
Man, wife, and 5 children .	12s. 9d.	12s. 8d.	13s. 0d.
Man, wife, and 6 children .	14s. 0d.	14s. 0d.	14s. 0d.

It was assumed, and probably with good reason, that such a scale, varying from one-fourth to one-third of ordinary wages, would not materially lessen the inclination for any kind of work for wages, whenever such work was to be had, especially as relief was coupled with what the executive called "disciplinary work," which consisted either of out-door labour, or of elementary instruction in schools for men and boys, and instruction in sewing-schools for women and girls. The importance of these arrangements cannot well be over-rated, for an economic and fair system of relief without discipline would have been utterly impossible. An officer under a board of guardians is required from time to time to visit the recipients of out-door relief, and if any are reported on two or three successive visits as absent from home, it is assumed that they are deriving income from some source, and they are either struck off the list, or are required to work at an occupation provided by the guardians. If such an inspection be constantly necessary with the forty or fifty thousand ordinary recipients of out-door relief, it is certain that it would not be less so with some thousands out of the half million who were dependent during the cotton famine upon guardians and relief committees; and if there be any truth in the adage that "one black sheep spoils the flock," a mischievous example of laxity, if once allowed, would soon have become very

infectious. But what disciplinary labour could be provided, which would answer the purpose of mustering the men and women under superintendence, and be useful without being felt to be degrading? Inherently all useful labour is honourable, and persons in seaport towns do manage to earn a decent livelihood by tearing up worn-out ropes, so that the hempen fibres may be respun. But this employment, when introduced into a Rutlandshire gaol, became at once a mark of degradation, and its value as a pauper occupation may be judged by the fact that the earnings of "oakum" pickers under boards of guardians do not average twopence per head per week. It was easy enough to provide for the children; a recent alteration of the Poor-law Amendment Act allows guardians either to establish schools or to pay for the teaching of the children of the recipients of out-door relief at schools chosen by the parents; and the guardians of Manchester had before the occurrence of the cotton famine, in cases where children were neglected, required as a condition of relief that they should be sent to school. But for the men it was impossible to find sufficient out-door labour, and the objection to oakum picking and stone breaking was so great, and the pecuniary results were so contemptible, and the system was consequently so demoralising; that some substitute was in the highest degree desirable. During an interview between the guardians of Manchester and a deputation of operatives on the subject of this "labour test," an intelligent member of the deputation named Evans, in reply to a member of the board, who asked how they were to prevent imposition without a test, and if those in operation were objectionable what they could substitute, asked, "Why not adopt an educational test?" This simple question excited some thought at the board, and being anxious to treat as kindly as possible these victims of a social convulsion, the guardians concluded to try the effect of mental improvement instead of depressing physical labour. Mr. C. H. Rickards, the chairman of the board, and Mr. Daniel Clarke went heartily into the project, and originated the establishment of elementary schools for men and youths; the plan of which, being approved and adopted by the central executive, soon spread throughout the cotton district.

In these schools might sometimes be seen the extraordinary spectacle of youths with their fathers and grandfathers, all learning to read and write in the same class. Men who had passed through

the snows of sixty winters, and whose means of gathering knowledge had hitherto been limited to the observation of occurrences passing under their own eyes or appealing to their own ears, learned now to read the thoughts of other men and to write their own reflections thereon, and rejoiced in the new world of wisdom thus opened out to them ere they were called away from all earthly pleasures and troubles.

In the winter of 1862-3 there were at one time no less than forty-eight thousand men and youths in attendance at these schools, and great efforts were put forth to render them interesting as well as useful. Competent masters were provided, at wages varying from fifteen shillings to thirty shillings per week, together with assistants selected from the most intelligent pupils, in the ratio of one assistant to fifteen scholars, who were also paid a weekly sum in addition to their relief allowance. Conditional grants were also made every three months in aid of the salaries of the head-masters, at the rate of £20 for every one hundred and fifty scholars in regular attendance. The attendance required in order to secure relief was only in the day time, but many of the schools were also open in the evenings for instruction and recreation; and in Manchester and its vicinity a scheme of lectures and concerts was arranged, in which, very much to their credit, the professors at Owens College took an active share. By these means the minds of the adult pupils were kept occupied with disquisitions on popular science or with social topics; or they were recreated with music and recitations, and thus kept from brooding over their own misfortunes. The rooms occupied were in many cases those of old cotton mills, the heavy unceiled rafters of each floor being supported by iron columns, exposing the timbers above. In some cases water-colours and brushes were procured by the operatives, and in a few days the rooms would be cleaned up and coloured in panels with ornamental devices until they were rendered almost fit for ball rooms; and the effects produced upon the minds of the people by these efforts were most exhilarating and healthful. Sir James P. Kay-Shuttleworth, the vice-chairman of the central executive (who was the first secretary to the Committee of Council on Education, and to whom the cause of elementary instruction in England is probably more indebted than to any other man), expressed his warm approval of the scheme; and very

opportunely there arrived from Australia a large fund consigned to the care of Sir D. Cooper and Mr. Edward Hamilton, and which they in a letter to the committee desired to devote in some special manner. Sir James immediately proposed, and the consignees of the fund agreed, that to our Australian brethren should be given the honour and privilege of providing for the mental occupation and improvement of the operatives, so as to fit them for the more complete performance of their social duties whenever physical labour could be again provided for them. Sir James stated to the central executive, that he was authorised by Sir Daniel Cooper and Mr. Hamilton to inform them that the whole of the New South Wales fund was to be specially appropriated to schools for youth, sewing classes for females, and the payment of the school pence of children. This fund would probably exceed £15,000 ; but, reckoning on the basis of that sum only, he (Sir James) was desirous to submit for the consideration of the committee a scale of distribution which, if adopted, it might be desirable to make known for the guidance of local committees in their administration. If, as was too probable, two hundred and fifty thousand factory operatives were out of work at Christmas, and one-half of them were dependent on the relief committees for support, they would consist of the following classes :—Five-tenths of that half, or sixty-two thousand five hundred, would be women ; about three-tenths, or thirty-seven thousand five hundred, boys and girls ; and about two-tenths, or twenty-five thousand, men and youths. If thirty-five thousand females attended the sewing classes, twenty-seven thousand five hundred would be left at home to attend to the families of one hundred and twenty-five thousand factory workmen. If thirty-five thousand females were divided into two hundred and thirty classes of about one hundred and fifty each on the average, the superintendents would require stipends of £18. 15s. for six months, or fifteen shillings per week, making a total of £4,312. Twenty-four weeks' schooling for an average attendance of thirty thousand boys and girls, at twopence per week, would cause an outlay of £6,000, and £1,000 might be granted towards the cost of the schooling of younger children of families in receipt of relief. The stipends of masters of one hundred schools, containing fifteen thousand youths, would, at thirty shillings per week, amount in six months to £3,750. 10s. These schools would also each require

eight assistants, selected from well-qualified youths out of work, and remunerated by an extra rate of relief. The superintendence of the work of thirty-five thousand women, the schooling of thirty thousand boys and girls and of fifteen thousand youths, might thus be provided for £14,062, and £1,000 might be applied towards the school pence of the children who were too young to work. The anticipated further remittances from New South Wales would provide, at least partially, for any increase of these forms of dependence beyond these limits during six months.

It was then resolved, "That with due regard to the local circumstances, and to the information to be given in the schedule appended to the circular issued by this committee, applications for aid from the New South Wales fund be regulated on the basis of this estimate, on the understanding that any grant for schools for youth or for sewing classes is also applicable to the hiring of rooms and incidental expenses, and in sewing classes for the purchase of material to be made into clothes and distributed as relief; that the grants from this committee will be made in support of any school or sewing class for three months, so as to enable the local committees to engage teachers and superintendents for that period; and that applications may be received prior to the expiration of that time, to enable them to renew the engagements."

By these means the scheme was perfected and the staff of teachers and assistants organised, and the daily tasks carried on until the gradual increase of employment in mills, and on public works, the migration to other counties, and the emigration to America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, had drained the schools of their pupils, and enabled the committee to relinquish this portion of their duties; but leaving them the consolation that tens of thousands of men and women had there learned valuable life lessons, which would be carried to every quarter of the civilised world, and make of the recipients better husbands, better wives, better parents, and better members of society. Men who were earning their own livings before popular education began, have in these schools, mastered the rudiments of knowledge; men who were neglected by their ignorant parents have, in some measure, repaired the evil; men who wasted their opportunities at school, and bitterly repented their folly as soon as hard-working life began, have had another chance; whilst the children of drunken or vicious parents, who, in

ordinary times, would have got only the education of the streets, have been regularly subjected to good tuition. Tens of thousands of girls—who were sent to factory labour as soon as they had passed the legal age of thirteen years, and who had never been accustomed to any domestic occupation; who could not darn a stocking, make a pinafore, or even properly cook a potato—have also learned to read, and write, and sew, and cook; have listened to, and been instructed for months by, wealthy and refined ladies—the result being a great improvement in manners, and the acquirement of knowledge and skill in various domestic occupations upon which it would be difficult to set too high a value. The number in attendance on the sewing classes in March, 1863, exceeded forty-one thousand.

It is a great pity that the honour intended for Australia was not at once as highly appreciated in the colony as at home. The Australians have apparently shot ahead of the old country in the matter of education; they love fair play, and, not being encumbered with our traditions, our prejudices, or our religious establishments, they dislike the denominational system (the only one at present possible in this country); and knowing that Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth had been the principal instrument in its establishment here, they feared the diversion of a fund, sent to find bread for the people, to the purposes of religious proselytism. This misunderstanding could scarcely have arisen if the whole plan, as sketched in the minutes submitted by Sir James to the consignees of the fund, had been forwarded to the colony; much less could it have arisen if they had known that the man whom they so fiercely denounced was, at the very time, actively engaged in removing the denominational character from the very few sewing schools, which, as originally organised, were open to the charge. But the feeling in Australia against the appropriation was so strong that, when the mail arrived, bringing accounts of the meetings held in the colony, the central executive proposed to the general committee to repay out of the general fund the amount already spent upon these schools; but if they had waited the result of an explanation, no such revocation would have been needed, for the colonists, when they properly understood the matter, were not only satisfied with the proposed devotion of the fund, but proud of the distinction conferred upon the donors. The schools were, from this period, however, supported out of the general fund.

It has already been intimated that at the origin of the central committee, many reasons made it necessary to allow existing local committees to decide for themselves what applicants to relieve, and whom they should send to the boards of guardians; and also to allow them as much general liberty of action as was consistent with efficient and economical working. But the members of the central executive could not meet week after week without discussing and comparing the different systems of procedure; and a desire to economise the funds in their charge would naturally lead towards some common and generally-approved plan of operations.

Ultimately, the results of the experience of the executive were embodied in the manual already alluded to, for the use of the local committees. This manual recommended that a local committee should include the chief landed proprietors and large employers of the district, certain of the clergy and ministers of religion, and other influential persons. That an executive should be composed of such of the most experienced and active members of this committee, as would devote themselves to the administration of relief. That such sub-committees as were needed should be appointed for store-keeping and for the administration of relief in kind—for superintendence of labour and finance—for the management of the sewing and adult schools, &c., &c. Specimen forms of accounts, relief cards, relief books, &c., were also provided.

Originally relief was not confined to factory operatives, nor even to those immediately dependent on factory work; and whilst some committees confined themselves to supplementing the relief given by boards of guardians, others relieved only such as kept away from the guardians. The manual endeavoured to define the classes to be relieved, and reminded committees that the funds were entrusted primarily for the relief of persons deprived of work in cotton factories, and secondarily only for other partially dependent occupations; that cases of chronic indigence, and cases of indigence not connected with the cotton trade, had no claim on the funds; that families who had been wantonly deserted, or whose heads had emigrated, should in all cases be referred to the guardians, as likely to be permanently dependent; and that the public works were intended to absorb the able-bodied men.

Relief had been given in money and in kind, the latter either from a general store, or by tickets on shopkeepers; and these

tickets were in some cases upon particular shopkeepers, and in others were left to the discretion of the recipients. The manual approved of relief in kind, because it prevented the waste of help in money on intoxicating liquors, and secured the largest amount of wholesome food, but still allowed some money for articles not otherwise provided. It also recommended that when tickets were used they should bear the name of a particular shopkeeper, in order to prevent their being purchased by improper persons (beer-shop keepers or others). The same precaution which dictated relief in kind originated also this recommendation; for cases had occurred where men had sold their tickets for money, and dissipated the money in intoxicating drink. It was recommended that single men, or youths of sixteen years and upwards, should be assisted to find employment on public works, or should be referred to the guardians; the only justification for which latter course would be in the belief that a reference to the guardians would stimulate to extraordinary efforts to find employment somewhere; for it would be a great mistake to familiarise young men with the brand of pauperism and thus permanently lower their self-respect. Practically, we know that the poor-law is an embodiment of benevolence and of self-interest at the same time, and that it is as necessary to the public as to the recipient that the helpless poor should be relieved; but we also know that the poor-rate is a forced dole, and that the practice of saving the pockets of the ratepayers makes guardians act with suspicion, and give grudgingly. On the other hand, the funds of the relief committee were of the nature of a free gift, which any needy man might accept without feeling ashamed.

The manual recommended an entire separation between the cases relieved by the guardians and the relief committees, on the ground of economy; and, as a measure of discipline, that any men who were not diligent in out-door work, or who were irregular at any other required occupation, or who misconducted themselves in any way, should also be sent to the guardians. It was also urged that the reports of individual visitors should always be reviewed and checked by a committee, so as to prevent the possibility of favouritism or fraud; and, as a further security, it was recommended that the districts of the visitors should be periodically changed, and that the relief given should not be distributed by the visitors, but by a responsible person at the office of the committee. Schedules, to

be filled up periodically by employers, were to be required at stated periods, so as to show the earnings of the family when any portion of them were in employment; and frequent revisions of the relief lists in connection with the employment schedules were urged, in order to prevent cases of imposition.

Work was in every instance, if possible, to be required in return for relief, because, if wisely ordered, it promotes cheerfulness and health, and prevents demoralisation; and such labour was to be paid for by the hour, and so many hours' labour to be required per week as would amount to the sum given in relief. Thus in the sewing schools the rate was from three farthings to one penny per hour, which latter sum, at five hours per day, would give as relief two shillings and sixpence per week. The salaries of superintendents of schools varied from ten to twenty-five shillings per week, with conditional quarterly grants of £10 for every one hundred and fifty females in attendance. On applications by local committees, the central executive also paid twopence each per week for the children of the recipients of relief, to enable them to be kept at school.

When the provision of out-door employment was urged, some of the committees, being desirous of progress in that direction, undertook contracts of various kinds. On this subject the manual contains the following minute, dated 14th September, 1863 :—

"*Minute as to contracts by relief committees, and employment of indigent cotton workmen on such contracts.*

"The relief of indigence in the cotton districts has hitherto proceeded mainly from two sources, viz.,—the legal charge on property, and the voluntary contributions of charity to public funds. These two sources of relief are subject to a law of economy. When the poor-rates and the relief funds have provided to the indigent the means of sustaining health, they have discharged their function.

"1. The laws for the relief of the poor never were intended to provide employment with wages. Such an obligation would convert the poor-laws into an organised system of labour conducted by the state, and establish a form of socialism destructive to private capital and demoralising to labour. Every step, therefore, from that legitimate use of the poor-rates, or of public charitable

funds, which restricts them to the maintenance of health, to another which proceeds to assume obligations to provide wages from such sources, is full of danger.

"2. Wages are given to the able-bodied without respect to the wants of their families. A single able-bodied man receives as much, at piece-work, as a man with a wife and four children. To find employment with wages, therefore, if general, necessarily creates a heavier charge than the simple maintenance of health.

"3. A relief committee has no corporate power to enter into any contract to secure employment for those whom it relieves. Such a contract could only be legally entered into by individual members of the relief committee in their private capacity. If such private persons enter into such a contract, they can receive no legal security for its fulfilment from the committee.

"4. Supposing these technical difficulties to be overcome, and that the majority and most influential members of such a committee sign such a contract—if they determine to provide from their relief funds ordinary wages, either for piece-work or day-work, they have no warrant to expect any aid from the central executive committee, to carry out a scheme inconsistent with the economy of funds intended simply to support health.

"5. It is possible to adjust a scheme of labour to a scale of relief adapted simply to sustain health, by paying for work done by the hour at the usual rate, and not requiring more hours' work than will enable the workman to make his labour and that of his family equal, at that rate per hour, to the scale of relief intended to sustain health. Any other plan involves a very grave departure from the true principles of relief administration.

"6. Contracts for public or private works can only be safely entered into by boards or committees charged with the execution of such works, apart from the question of relief of indigence. Such boards or committees of public works reduce the sum of indigence in the same way as any private capitalists may do, by such works as they undertake. But they assume no obligations to find employment, and they strengthen the relations between capital and labour by increasing the employment of capital and the demand for labour. These functions, though they indirectly relieve indigence, are not to be in any degree confounded with the functions of boards or committees whose primary duty is to relieve indigence, so as to sustain health."

Some committees had also supplemented full time wages, in cases where the material to be worked up was so wretched that weavers, who used, in ordinary times, to earn from ten shillings to twelve shillings per week, could not earn the amount of relief as wages. This practice also was condemned by the manual, which declared—"It is better that such operatives should be entirely withdrawn than that they should labour sixty hours weekly for little more, or even less, than the scale of relief." There is no doubt that such work would add somewhat to the wealth of society, but it would terribly depress the workers; and it is false economy to uphold an employment by which men cannot live. Labour as discipline, even if it does not pay, is justifiable; but labour for wages ought, in every case, to mean living wages.

But, whilst discouraging any systematic addition to wages, the central executive, subsequently, in the cases of men employed under the Public Works Act, sanctioned aid during the first six weeks of such employment, which they considered to be sufficient training to enable a factory operative to earn twelve shillings per week on out-door work.

These arrangements, although not embodied in the manual until 5th October, 1863, were in process of adoption from an early period, and were constantly being pressed forward by the executive, amidst much obstruction and many difficulties. They were never completely carried out, for the honorary secretary's report for May, 1865, shows that a month before the executive adjourned *sine die*, "the relief of three thousand eight hundred and seventy-two persons from the guardians was being supplemented by the local committees at a cost of £901 per month, when the total expenditure of the relief committees was only £5,090 per month." We have never been able to learn why the central executive allowed its own rules to be set at defiance; but it is probable that they were not unanimous in their proceedings, and could more easily adopt rules than enforce them, or they would certainly have put forth a strong hand and have stopped the grants of such committees as continued to supplement poor-law relief.

The following table will show the numbers who were employed out of doors, or sent to the various schools by committees, during the period of the distress:—

NUMBER EMPLOYED UNDER THE COMMITTEES, EITHER IN WORK OR EDUCATIONAL CLASSES.

	Men.		Boys under 15.		Women and Girls.	Children at School for whom Committee pay.	Total.
	School.	Outdoor Labour.	School.	Outdoor Labour.			
1863.							
January . .	17,638	2,670	22,111	—	22,756	19,360	84,535
February . .	19,752	2,916	28,395	—	22,207	24,480	95,750
March . .	20,348	3,800	16,740	—	41,034	53,703	135,625
April . . .	16,251	5,483	6,203	—	33,836	52,392	114,165
May . . .	9,850	6,621	3,578	—	23,958	43,921	87,928
June . . .	6,157	7,263	2.742	—	19,411	39,412	74,985
July . . .	2,487	7,552	2,025	—	11,915	30,857	54,836
August . .	2,219	6,968	1,417	—	9,190	26,925	46,719
September . .	2,552	4,304	1,340	—	7,214	21,834	37,244
October . .	3,036	2,992	1,532	73	6,906	19,155	33,694
November . .	1,526	4,239	790	533	6,790	18,772	32,650
December . .	1,661	4,655	1,034	208	7,045	18,154	32,757
1864.							
January . .	2,208	3,938	1,169	211	7,500	16,549	31,575
February . .	2,593	2,628	1,319	31	7,804	17,740	33,115
March . .	2,232	3,602	1,225	64	7,322	17,489	31,934
April . . .	1,545	2,360	1,210	4	5,672	16,813	27,604
May . . .	669	1,646	733	20	4,337	16,012	23,417
June . . .	256	1,040	644	—	2,362	10,217	14,519
July . . .	188	593	455	9	1,943	7,127	10,315
August . .	142	299	372	—	1,766	6,732	9,311
September . .	165	337	366	—	1,717	6,017	8,602
October . .	200	1,176	359	—	2,225	8,207	12,167
November . .	219	1,215	404	3	2,179	9,284	13,304
December . .	185	970	212	4	1,747	8,946	12,064
1865.							
January . .	334	1,008	212	11	1,630	9,220	12,415
February . .	297	1,103	217	6	1,556	9,326	12,505
March . .	331	813	204	12	1,171	9,056	11,587
April . . .	132	591	151	7	1,132	7,030	9,043
May . . .	39	160	101	—	547	4,402	5,249

Of course these schools, especially under boards of guardians, had their dark as well as their bright side. The ordinary able-bodied recipients of poor-law relief jumped at the change from the stone yard, the oakum shop, or the hand corn mill, to the school; because it enabled them not only to dispense with a disagreeable

task, without loss of income, but even gave them a chance of getting poor-law relief supplemented by a relief committee, and occasionally, through laxity in the management, to get a further supplement by earnings from irregular employment. Rascaldom was in clover during the early period of the distress, and the revision of the school lists, in the spring of 1863, turned out domestic servants from the sewing schools, sent hand-loom weavers to their normal dependence upon the poor-rates, and even committed to prison swindlers, who, whilst in regular work, and in receipt of good wages, were also getting assistance from the relief committees. But these cases of imposition occurred only amongst large populations, and certainly did not at any time comprise five per cent of the recipients of relief.

CHAPTER XII.

The Policy of Emigration—The Emigrants' Aid Society, and National Colonial Emigration Society—Attitude of Employers—Disappearance of Operatives—Mr. Farnall's Blunder—Government Emigration Returns—The Maximum Pressure of Distress—Decrease of Indigence, and Revision of Relief Lists—Pressure by Central Executive—Difficulties of Traders—Raw Cotton dearer than Calico—Illegitimacy at Wigan—The Bastardy Promotion Fund—Decrease of Employment in October, 1863—The Turn of the Tide—The Peace Panic and its Effects—The Death of the Confederacy—Mr. Maclure's Last Report—Close of the Ashton Committee—Percentages of Persons Relieved to those Out of Employment at Various Periods.

In the first few months of the cotton famine, many persons at a distance from Lancashire advised that the only proper remedy for the distress was a large measure of emigration; and if means had been supplied, a very large proportion of the operatives would doubtless have left the country. But the employers having faith in the future, and probably calculating that the pressure would be over in a year or two at the utmost, discountenanced any such proceeding, and refused to aid it pecuniarily. Nevertheless, emigration committees were formed in most of the distressed districts, and an "Emigrants' Aid Society" was established in Manchester, in April, 1863. The expressed object of the society was not to encourage emigration or to seek out emigrants, but simply to aid such as were determined to go to the colonies. This society sought an alliance with the National Colonial Emigration Society, but its work was very limited in extent. The total funds placed at its disposal were as follow:—

Subscriptions and donations, with bank interest .	£2,279 3 6
Mansion House grants	1,021 15 0
National Colonial and London Branch Committee . .	1,300 0 0
	£4,600 18 6

These funds assisted in the outfit of eight hundred and thirty-four statute adults, and aided the passages of three hundred and eighty-five, many of whom were also included under the former head.

But the National Colonial Society continued to act independently of the Manchester committee, and scarcely played a fair part either towards the public generally or to Lancashire in particular.

From the tenor of its advertisements, subscribers would naturally suppose that what they gave to the society would go to relieve Lancashire distress, but its emigrants were selected not from the cotton districts alone, but from the whole surface of the United Kingdom. The distress in Lancashire directed attention to emigration, and assisted the funds of the society; but they wanted labourers, not cotton operatives; and took the latter, either when the former were not to be had, or only to the extent that they were composed of readily convertible material. Nevertheless, with or without help, many thousands of operatives must have got away. The first return by Mr. Maclure of persons out of work was obtained from the mills and factories, and was based upon the numbers usually employed in those establishments; but so soon as it became evident that considerable migration was going on, the return was corrected from time to time by household visitation. The return in January, 1863, comprised five hundred and sixty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-three operatives; but by December, 1864, they were reduced to four hundred and forty thousand eight hundred and one, showing a decrease of more than twenty per cent. What had become of one hundred and twenty-three thousand operatives it is not easy to learn. The great bulk of emigrants who belong to trades which do not obtain in their chosen colony, either register themselves as "labourers," or in some handicraft of which they have a smattering knowledge. Thus the government emigration agent can give no account of them, and it may be assumed that the following return is wholly fallacious, so far as Lancashire is concerned :—

RETURN SHOWING, SO FAR AS CAN BE ASCERTAINED FROM THE PASSENGER LISTS FURNISHED BY THE CUSTOM-HOUSE AUTHORITIES, THE NUMBERS OF SPINNERS AND WEAVERS WHO LEFT THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN 1861, 1862, 1863, AND 1864.

Year.	Spinners and Weavers.	Woolcombers and Sorters.	Persons whose Trades or Occupations are not Specified in the Lists.
1861	123	12	3,930
1862	568	9	7,728
1863	2,086	9	7,601
1864	1,157	1	7,862

S. WALCOTT, Government Emigration Office.

If we assume that the whole of the fourteen thousand extra emigrants over the average of 1861 in these classes were cotton operatives, they still furnish no proper solution of the great disappearance of hands.

Mr. Farnall fell into a gross blunder in his report on emigration to the poor-law board, which happened thus: Macclesfield, which is principally a silk manufacturing town, had a relief committee, and, as in other places, did not at first restrict its relief to cotton operatives, and the whole of the unemployed at Macclesfield therefore figured in the early returns. But, when the time for revision came, silk operatives were pronounced ineligible, and the proportion of the Macclesfield operatives who were employed upon silk were dropped out of the returns. Mr. Farnall, in making up his table, referred to the early and the late returns from Macclesfield, and, finding the hands accounted for immensely decreased, jumped to the conclusion that all who had ceased to appear in the returns had either migrated or emigrated, and that the operative population of Macclesfield was reduced by 78·42 per cent, or from fifteen thousand six hundred and twenty-three to three thousand three hundred and seventy-two between May, 1863, to May, 1864. This portion of the report the poor-law board very wisely suppressed.

Nor is the emigration movement likely to cease until employment has reached its old standard. The following paragraph, which appeared in the Manchester papers, 25th September, 1864, exhibits the feeling of the operatives upon this and other subjects:—

"At a delegate meeting of the Associated Operative Cotton Spinners of Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, just held in Manchester, the following, amongst other resolutions, were passed: That the question with reference to the organisation of a central plan of emigration be adjourned for the present, and that each locality be urged to carry out, if possible, more extensively than ever its own system of emigration, experience having proved that it is only by emigration that the position of the working classes can be improved. It is, moreover, equally certain that any individual member of this association who neglects to promote to the utmost of his power the emigration movement at this important crisis, neglects a duty which he owes to himself, while inflicting a serious injury upon his fellow workmen. That the spinners of Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire be requested to

constantly bear in mind, so that when trade shall have once more assumed its normal character they may be prepared to vindicate an equitable price for spinning on coupled mules and compensation of extra turns. That Lancaster be admitted a district of the association. That our fellow members of Chorley, having been wholly and entirely thrown out of employment by the dispute now pending between the cardroom operatives of that locality and their employers, this meeting begs most respectfully to recommend the case of those connected with this society to the kind and humane consideration of their fellow members throughout the district, and to request that they will spare no exertions on their behalf, but obtain for them all the assistance in their power. The following state of employment was submitted to the meeting :—

	Mules running.	Mules standing.	Total.
Tyldesley	189	none	189
Preston	938	465	1,403
Blackburn	718	418	1,136
Over Darwen	87	10	97
Farington	42	3	45
Hyde	443	254	697
Bolton	300	20	320
Heywood	234	90	324
Accrington	98	26	124
Another district (not named) .	236	76	312
West Leigh	211	none	211
Total .	3,496	1,362	4,858."

Of course, even if the above return be correct, it is only an approximate guide to the state of employment, because of the great diminution of operatives in the district.

Agents came from the United States during the crisis and sought out hands for weaving and spinning; and, having made engagements with them, paid their passage fees to America. But as these would all go by ordinary passenger vessels they would probably not be reckoned as emigrants. Nevertheless, the fact remains that a larger number than any government measure would have been likely to provide for as emigrants to the colonies, did manage by some means at home or abroad to provide for themselves and their families, and thus relieved both the poor-law guardians and the various committees from a very heavy extra charge upon their funds and their care.

The maximum pressure upon the relief committees was reached early in December, 1862, but, as the tide had turned before the end of the month, the highest number chargeable at any one time is nowhere shown. The highest number exhibited in the returns is for the last week in the year 1862, viz.: four hundred and eighty-five thousand four hundred and thirty-four persons; but in the previous weeks of the same month some thousands more were relieved. The public waited with eager anxiety and with trembling hope for the January return, and when that showed only four hundred and fifty-one thousand three hundred and forty-three recipients of relief, the rejoicing was mingled with fear that there was some mistake in the figures, for they showed a diminution of above thirty thousand dependants as compared with December. The news was thought too good to be true; for there was no visible circumstance to account for the change. Cotton, which in December sold at twenty-three pence halfpenny, was in January twenty-six pence per pound; and mule yarn, which in December was twenty-two pence, was now only twenty-six pence per pound, thus showing no margin whatever for spinning; and shirtings, which in December were twenty-three pence, were in January twenty-five pence per pound, being in each case less than the price of middling fair Orleans cotton; so that any increase of employment must have been based entirely upon the speculation that goods would rise; whilst cotton, if it did not fall, would at any rate not exceed its then present price in the market.

The truth is, probably, that the committees had now become masters of their work, and found that, in their early anxiety not to let any person die from neglect, they had gathered into their nets, amongst the proper and deserving objects of charity, many who were neither proper nor deserving; and that the organisation, which was now getting perfected, enabled them to dismiss some of their dependants without danger either to health or life, whilst the remainder were absorbed into employment; for the returns showed about twenty-six thousand more on full-time, with a decrease of five thousand on short-time, so that upwards of twenty thousand were demonstrably so absorbed. The February report showed a further decrease of about nineteen thousand dependants, and the rejoicing now became earnest: men shook hands with each other heartily; and, instead of the usual empty compliments about the

weather, the mutual congratulation was to the effect that the worst was past—that the substitution of linen and worsted and woollen had reached its limit, and that the world must have calicoes and fustians, even at famine prices. But there was still no margin between raw cotton and 40's mule yarn, whilst shirtings were one halfpenny per pound below the price of raw cotton. Six thousand persons had been reduced from full to short-time since January. Employment was considerably worse, and nineteen thousand fewer persons were relieved: organisation was evidently at work, and pressure was beginning to be employed somewhere. The March return showed a further decrease of about twelve thousand recipients; whilst the employment schedule exhibited an increase on full-time of about seven thousand, and a decrease on short-time of sixteen thousand; so that nine thousand more were entirely out of employment, whilst the recipients of relief were diminished by a still greater number.

April showed a further decrease of recipients of some fifty-eight thousand, above an eighth of the whole number, partially accounted for, on this occasion, by an increase of employment, which was very gratifying; nearly thirty-four thousand more were in full work, and twenty thousand less on short-time; so that some fourteen thousand additional hands had been absorbed during the month, whilst nearly four and a quarter times that number had disappeared from the relief lists. Well might the central executive boast its economy, but such pressure furnished an excuse to the newspaper correspondents who charged them with unfairly withholding funds given for the support of the poor, and which were much needed by many of those who were declared ineligible as recipients. In Hulme, in Salford, and in Chorlton, members of the relief committees declared that the central executive were starving the people. But these sentiments were not held by the guardians of the township of Manchester, who declared that they would have been quite equal to the task of supporting the poor without the aid of any relief committee; and it is tolerably certain that more imposition was practised upon the different committees in Manchester than in any other place, Ashton district perhaps excepted. And it is singular that the only breach of the peace, induced by this extreme pressure of the central executive, through the committees, was at the very place where the allowances had been largest and the

management, owing to the existence of two competing committees, most lax, and where pressure was therefore most needed, in fairness to the fund and to the interests of other places. The result of the revision of the relief lists by guardians and committees will be readily appreciated when we state that, in December, 1862, the total cost of relief was £289,225, being equal to elevenpence halfpenny in the pound on the assessment of the whole of the unions. In June, 1863, the total cost was £102,241, whilst the numbers relieved were two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and seventy-eight; so that, whilst the recipients had decreased about forty-nine per cent, the expenditure had decreased sixty-five per cent. Whether wholesome or not, this discipline drove a large number of operatives to seek employment at other occupations; and an inquiry, undertaken by the honorary secretary, on its being pointed out to him that his successive returns accounted for a continually decreasing number of hands, led to the conclusion that some fourteen thousand had been absorbed into other employments, whilst some thousands more had migrated into different counties, or emigrated to America and the colonies. The plea of the executive for such severe pressure was—first, to oblige every possible source of independent employment to be tried, so as to prevent men from settling down into permanent pauperism; second, to get the able-bodied men into training for employment under the Public Works Act; and, third, to economise their funds for the ensuing winter; when, unless the supply of cotton should exceed every prudent estimate, there would be, on the cessation of out-door labour, a large accession to the list of necessary recipients.

The month of May, 1863, further reduced the recipients by the immense number of seventy-two thousand, thirteen thousand more going to work full-time, with no decrease of short-time workers; so that, for thirteen thousand absorbed into the mills, five and a half times as many were struck off the relief lists. The Stalybridge riots had only increased the determination of the central executive and of the guardians, who were determined that, at any rate during the summer months, the operatives should be obliged to look out for themselves. The increase of full-time working since December had absorbed eighty-four thousand eight hundred and forty-nine, of whom thirty-five thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine had gone from the ranks of the short-time workers, leaving the nett

increase of persons in employment forty-nine thousand and twenty; but the relief lists had in the same time been depleted to the extent of one hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred and fifty-nine, or, as nearly as possible, four times that number.

Notwithstanding this gratifying increase of employment, the difficulties of trade were very great, as will be seen by the prices quoted for cotton yarn and cloth at various periods.

1863.	Fair Dhollerah.	Mid. Fair Orleans.	32's Twist.	36's Twist.	39in. Shirtings.
March 24.	17d. to 17½d.	24d.	23½d.	23¼d.	25·0d.
June 23.	18d. to 18½d.	23d.	25d.	25d.	26·9d.
Sept. 24.	22d. to 22½d.	24¾d.	30d.	30d.	28·9d.
Dec. 22.	22¼d. to 22¾d.	28½d.	31d.	31d.	31·2d.

It will here be seen that between the prices of Orleans cotton and shirtings there was never so much as fourpence per pound during the whole nine months from Lady-day to Christmas; and that between Dhollerah cotton and shirtings the highest margin at any time was ninepence per pound, whilst between yarn and cloth the largest amount was one penny three farthings; and that the balance was occasionally nearly twopence per pound against the manufacturer. Persons who are acquainted with the trade will affirm that it was possible, even under these circumstances, to conduct it without loss; and those who are unacquainted will ask, if that were possible, why did not more spinners and manufacturers get to work? The reply is, that employers were quite as anxious as the operatives to get to work, and that quite as many did as could do so without ruin; but the operatives are not more sensitive to the introduction of "strangers" in times of good trade, than the cotton market was at this time to an extra purchase of cotton; for, if on any day the sales were much in excess of the known consumption, the prices immediately went up, and the margin between cotton and cloth disappeared. Nevertheless, the increase of employment went on till September, when the additional hands on full-time had reached one hundred and forty-six thousand eight hundred and thirty-three since December, and the decrease on short-time was sixty-one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine; showing a nett absorption of eighty-five thousand two hundred and four into employment. But the relief lists had decreased, in the same time, by three hundred and one thousand two hundred and ninety-eight, or more than three and a half times as many as the extra workers.

Reckoning each worker to represent two and a half persons, we may ask, what had become of sixty-eight thousand two hundred and eighty-eight of these people, whose guardians were neither in the mills nor yet dependants on the poor-rate or the relief committees? It is evident that twenty-seven thousand three hundred and fifteen persons had found means by out-door work, absorption into other employments, migration or emigration, to support themselves and families, for no coroner's jury accused either relieving officers or relief committees of manslaughter; the tables of mortality tell no tales of cruelty or deprivation; nor do the sanitary returns speak even of increased sickness. The central executive were evidently justified in so regulating their grants as to seriously reduce the balances at the command of the committees, and thus to necessitate great circumspection on their part in distribution. The pressure brought to bear was very severe, but it was upon the whole very healthful. No doubt great hardships were felt in some localities and in many individual instances, but the result was, in the main, good; and in cases where relief committees felt that it was impossible to carry out their instructions without danger, and overdrew their banking accounts, the next meeting of the central executive generally restored the balance by extra grants. One of the recommendations of the central executive was, that all cases of suffering induced by improper conduct should be referred to the poor-law guardians, and a singular result was produced at Wigan by the attempt to enforce this rule. It appears that in this town illegitimate births had considerably increased during the distress, and of course the victims would, by the arrangements of the central executive, be excluded from relief. But the Wigan distributing committee were of a different opinion, and having appealed in vain against the rule, they actually resigned and made an application to the Mansion House committee, and got a grant of £200 towards what was designated in Manchester "the bastardy promotion fund," which fund was distributed separately.

There may, perhaps, have been reason to complain that the central executive were too severe upon this point, and that they added punishment where nature and society were already overwhelming in their inflictions; but the existence of a separate fund for this particular class was not likely to tend much to the improvement of the morality of Wigan.

The month of October showed that work had been going on too rapidly. Middling Orleans cotton was twenty-eight pence half-penny, whilst shirtings were twenty-eight pence per pound; and the operatives on full-time were decreased by one thousand five hundred, whilst those on short-time had increased by three thousand; but the numbers relieved were again reduced by sixteen thousand five hundred; that is to say, six thousand five hundred and eighty-three operatives additional had to shift for themselves and families, although the staple employment gave evidence of retrogression. But the elasticity of the operative element was now exhausted, and could be pressed no further; for November showed a further decrease of nearly eighteen thousand on full-time, and an increase of ten thousand on short-time, thus adding about eight thousand to those wholly out of employment. The increase in the number of persons relieved, however, instead of being twenty thousand, was two thousand six hundred only; so that the strain upon the committees was not relaxed, and great vigilance was evidently exercised as to the admission of any additional recipients.

In December the full-time workers were again decreased by ten thousand six hundred, all of whom were added to the unemployed; and the relief lists were also swollen not by twenty-six thousand (the number of individuals represented), but by less than the additional number out of work. The price of money had something to do with this decrease of employment, for the rate of discount rose in a month from four to eight per cent, owing, probably, to the immense amount of specie required to pay for a half crop of cotton. We had been used to pay America with manufactured goods both for cotton and corn, but India demanded gold and silver; and men who could work and pay their agents five per cent for advances, were stopped by the demand for eight per cent on balances, whilst all other charges were, by the altered value of cotton, at least doubled. January, 1864, decreased the full-time workers again by more than twenty-seven thousand, and increased the short-timers by more than eight thousand, thus adding eighteen thousand and ninety-five to the numbers out of work; and this time the relief lists responded a little more liberally, for they admitted twenty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-seven additional recipients. They admitted also an extra six hundred in February. But in the meantime the tide had turned again; money

had fallen two per cent; middling Orleans had fallen one penny per pound; and more than thirteen thousand additional hands were in full employ, whilst those on short-time were eight thousand less, giving a nett addition of five thousand workers from the lowest point.

Mr. Commissioner Farnall had recorded his judgment in the autumn of 1863 to the effect that in March or April, 1864, the relief committees would be able to suspend their labours. But he had no sooner committed himself to writing than the panic came, and, notwithstanding the severe pressure exercised by guardians and relief committees, added in four months no less than thirty-five thousand four hundred and ninety to the number of recipients of relief. How he must have wished he could erase that line in his report before it reached the inevitable blue-book for future reference!

From the month of February the increase in employment was regular, but not rapid, betokening the growth of a healthy demand for goods; and merchants began to say that what was wanted was not so much lower prices as steadiness and confidence. From January to August, 1864, the increase of operatives on full-time was eighty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety, and the decrease on short time sixty-six thousand seven hundred and eighty-two; so that the nett increase of workers was only eleven thousand seven hundred and eight, showing that not many new places of employment were opened, but that those who were in the mills worked longer hours. At the time indicated by Mr. Farnall for closing the relief committees, there were still one hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty on the relief lists, being two hundred and seventy-two per cent in excess of 1861; but by August, whilst the additional workers were as above stated, the relief lists had been decreased by nearly eleven times that number; and we are again entitled to ask what had become of ninety thousand eight hundred and thirty-five persons, whose guardians, to the number of thirty-six thousand three hundred and fifty-four, had been left to shift for themselves?

In September, discounts again advanced to eight or nine per cent; middling Orleans was at thirty-one pence, and shirtings were thirty-three pence per pound; and again employment decreased. But another and a more powerful cause than the price of discounts

was now at work. For three and a half years had the terrible American struggle gone on with the usual varying fortunes of war, and trade was gradually accommodating itself to war prices, when a rumour crossed the Atlantic that men were meeting at Niagara Falls, to try to arrange the terms of peace. Straightway men, instead of shaking hands and throwing up their hats in thankfulness that the mutual slaughter of their American brethren was at an end, looked into each other's faces with blank despair, as if peace, instead of war, was the greatest curse upon earth. Nor was it without reason that this fear and terror was felt and expressed. Middling Orleans cotton fell from thirty-one pence to twenty-three pence halfpenny, and shirtings from thirty-three pence to twenty-four pence per pound; and men who held largely of cotton, twist, or cloth, found their fortunes vanished in a night at the breath of this rumour. All trade arrangements were again in chaos. The workers on full-time were reduced in two months by one hundred and forty-four thousand and fifty-nine, and those on short-time were increased by sixty-six thousand two hundred and twenty-two, thus throwing seventy-seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven persons entirely out of work; whilst employers, merchants, and cotton speculators fell like hail on every side. At the same time the relief lists were increased by fifty-three thousand two hundred and five, and, in November, by an additional thirteen thousand six hundred and fifty-five. The panic had done its mischief before the news of the failure of the negotiations reached England; but peace was not to be achieved at present. The men who were strong enough in means, and courageous enough in spirit, to risk the result, saw cotton and goods on the rise again before Christmas; and those who were both rich and prudent, having often watched the effects of panic, and calculated on the rebound, bought cotton and yarn at the lowest prices and prepared for work. During November and December, 1864, the operatives in full employment were increased again by eighty-six thousand one hundred and ninety-seven, whilst those on short-time decreased by fifty-two thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, thus adding thirty-three thousand three hundred and fifty-eight to the numbers at work, or about one-half of those who were thrown out by the peace panic.

January, 1865, added nine thousand one hundred and twenty-four more to the full-time workers, and three thousand nine hundred

and six to the short-timers, being a nett increase of thirteen thousand and thirty in employment. During the same period, from November to January inclusive, the relief lists were decreased by thirty thousand three hundred and seventy-nine.

In February, when it became evident that the Confederate government in America must die, the fall of Richmond renewed the panic in this country, and again the prices of cotton and cloth fell suddenly and considerably; the full-time workers were again reduced by eleven thousand two hundred and twenty-four, whilst the short-timers were increased by nine thousand nine hundred and twenty-five, thus throwing one thousand two hundred and ninety-nine out of employment; and the relief lists, for once, more than responded to the increased necessity, for they registered six thousand three hundred and forty-one additional recipients. But although the news of Confederate disasters was on this occasion true, and the proclamation of peace in America speedily followed the fall of the Confederate capital, whilst the most fabulous accounts were given of the quantity of cotton in the Southern States, yet the mischief of October could not be repeated; the rebound of prices came within a month, enabling employment henceforth to increase regularly and rapidly, up to the date of the last meeting of the central executive in June, 1865.

The last report of Mr. Maclure shows the increase on full-time, from February to the end of May, to be eighty thousand three hundred and forty-nine, and the decrease on short-time forty-eight thousand persons, thus making a nett increase to the number employed of thirty-two thousand, three hundred and forty-nine. The relief lists also showed a decrease in the same period of fifty thousand one hundred and one, leaving only seventy-five thousand seven hundred and eighty-four persons chargeable to boards of guardians and relief committees; or about one hundred per cent in excess of the same date in 1861. In Ashton union—for the benefit of which locality the central executive was smilingly said to have existed for the last six months—the numbers relieved were still six hundred per cent in excess of 1861; but the committee, even there, had passed a resolution to close in a fortnight; and the passage of such a resolution, under the circumstances, is the best possible commentary upon the evil of having two local committees, with two principal sources of supply. Had

the central executive forcibly closed a committee twelve months before, where the persons chargeable were in the same proportion as in Ashton at the end of May, 1865, the whole country would have cried shame upon them for cruelty; yet what would then have been charged as gross cruelty was now voluntarily done by the committee itself, and quietly submitted to by the people. Evidently, a greater pressure, at an earlier period, would have operated as healthily at Ashton as elsewhere.

With one exception, the decrease in the number of operatives, accounted for by Mr. Maclure's returns, was regular, month by month; the exception being after the harvest of 1864, when in October, two thousand, and in November other six thousand, seem to have returned into the lists; but at Christmas, 1864, they had decreased again by eighteen thousand. It is impossible to say what has become of the greater portion of these people, or whether they will appear again in the list of cotton operatives on the return of prosperity. If any considerable number have emigrated, it must have been at the expense of their own hard-earned savings, or by means of private assistance. That some thousands have gone to the United States is certain, some upon their own means, some by the help of relatives and friends on either side of the Atlantic; and some by the help of American agents who have engaged workers on this side, and paid their passages to New York, intending some for factory work, and others for the Federal armies. The author was applied to on behalf of one of these agents in search of spinners and weavers; and having heard of a district where the chief employer was using his workpeople very unfairly, tried to arrange to send the whole of them to America, but soon found that passages would only be paid for actual workers; that our Yankee cousins did not want "incumbrances;" and he therefore gave up the attempt.

The trade of Yorkshire has received such an impetus during the famine that it is probable many thousands of operatives have only crossed Blackstone Edge. Mr. Baines estimates the total hands engaged in the woollen and worsted trades in 1856 at two hundred and seventy-five thousand, and as the imports of foreign wool increased by thirty-three per cent from 1861 to 1864—in which latter year they exceeded the estimated home-growth by twelve and a half per cent—we may safely assume from twenty to twenty-five per cent increase of trade; and at twenty per cent increase there would

be room for fifty-five thousand additional hands. It would not be wonderful if the cotton districts supplied one-half of this increase; so that in the event of sunshine returning to Lancashire, most of these people would be ready to return, unless already employed at increased wages. Some thousands have also doubtless found employment by the vast increase in the linen trade, and they will also be ready to return whenever cotton wages will pay them better. And about six thousand have been absorbed for the present, under the Public Works Act and in other out-door employments.

These absorptions and migrations do not affect the per centages of persons relieved to those out of employment, and the following table, representing the continually increasing pressure of the central executive and the boards of guardians, will be perused with interest. It will be seen that on the assumption that each unemployed operative represented two and a half persons, one-fifth of the whole were without relief when the proportion was at the highest; and that with the exception of three months in the depth of the winters of 1863-4 and 1864-5, the percentage relieved regularly decreased from two hundred down to seventy-seven per cent of the numbers out of employment; and these percentages relate only to those who were entirely out of employment, including the normal dependants on the poor rates, whilst there have been from two-thirds to three-fourths as many more working short-time, varying from two to four days per week, and in many cases earning wages very little above the relief standard.

Numbers Out of Work, Numbers Relieved, and Proportions of Persons Relieved to those entirely Out of Work.

1862.	Out of Work.	Relieved.	
June	—	129,774	
July	—	153,774	
August	—	216,437	
September	—	277,198	
October	—	371,496	
November	244,616	458,441	187 per cent.
December	247,230	485,434	196 „
1863.			
January	228,992	451,343	197 „
February	239,751	432,477	180 „
March	240,466	420,243	174 „
April	215,512	362,076	168 „
May	191,199	289,975	151 „
June	168,038	255,578	152 „

1863.	Out of Work.	Relieved.	
July	178,205	213,444	129 per cent.
August	171,535	204,603	119 ,,
September	160,835	184,136	114 ,,
October	154,219	167,678	108 ,,
November	159,117	170,268	107 ,,
December	149,038	180,298	120 ,,
1864.			
January	158,653	202,785	127 ,,
February	153,864	203,168	132 ,,
March	148,920	180,027	120 ,,
April	124,828	147,280	117 ,,
May	116,550	116,088	99 ,,
June	105,161	100,671	95 ,,
July	101,568	85,910	84 ,,
August	102,090	83,063	81 ,,
September	135,821	92,379	68 ,,
October	171,568	136,268	78 ,,
November	153,295	149,923	97 ,,
December	126,977	130,397	102 ,,
1865.			
January	114,488	119,544	104 ,,
February	115,727	125,885	108 ,,
March	113,794	111,008	97 ,,
April	104,571	95,763	91 ,,
May	86,001	75,784	88 ,,

It is abundantly clear from the above table that the central executive were very early alive to the danger of promoting permanent pauperism, and that they repressed with firm hands all tendencies in that direction; first by the exclusion from relief of all except cotton operatives, and then by continual pressure upon the able-bodied, so as morally to compel them to seek for other employment. To the return issued in June, 1865, the following foot-note was appended by Mr. Maclure :—

"The impetus recently given to the cotton trade, which there is every reason to believe will be steadily maintained, has enabled all but nine of the one hundred and seventy local committees to either discontinue, or give notice that they will immediately suspend the distribution of relief. Under these circumstances I do not intend to publish further returns; and therefore take this opportunity of stating, in justice to the honorary secretaries of the various local committees, that it is mainly due to their care that so accurate a statistical record of the cotton famine has been kept during the years 1862-5."

THE FOLLOWING TABLE WILL SHOW THE PROPORTIONS OF PERSONS, BELONGING TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS, WHO WERE CHARGEABLE JUNE 20TH, 1863:—

No.	District.	Factory Operatives.		Joiners.		Mechanics.		Shopkeepers.		Colliers.		Agricultural and other Out-door Labourers.		Domestic Servants.		Others not included in the foregoing.		Total.
		Workers	Dependants	Workers	Dependants	Workers	Dependants	Workers	Dependants	Workers	Dependants	Workers	Dependants	Workers	Dependants	Workers	Dependants	
1	Ashton-under-Lyne	25,198	16,272	26	42	131	226	42	109	335	716	407	1,043	60	6	722	255	45,690
2	Barton-upon-Irwell	248	369	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	18	—	—	20	35	693
3	Blackburn	2,209	3,271	11	71	36	88	4	7	7	34	176	326	9	5	77	457	6,438
4	Bolton	2,322	615	6	7	74	22	2	3	31	84	117	77	*256	—	1,826	290	5,389
5	Burnley	257	427	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	7	12	19	6	5	17	12	3,788
6	Bury	3,636	4,571	11	36	76	164	14	56	30	86	135	365	6	8	1,097	1,161	11,923
7	Chorley	1,057	2,364	—	1	2	9	—	—	21	—	6	188	4	4	60	585	4,301
8	Chorlton	1,312	3,712	33	143	130	432	14	57	1	1	134	497	7	10	695	2,421	9,598
9	Clitheroe	66	112	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	347
10	Fylde (The)	81	348	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	429
11	Garstang	16	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32
12	Glossop	2,421	—	5	—	5	—	20	—	—	—	10	—	15	—	2,000	—	4,476
13	Haslingden	2,604	2,067	4	8	7	11	2	8	29	64	29	72	—	—	300	135	6,065
14	Lancaster	50	128	—	—	3	6	—	—	—	—	8	24	—	—	6	15	238
15	Leigh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	130
16	Macclesfield	445	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	720
17	Manchester	4,242	9,105	196	573	317	803	36	108	4	13	390	959	*200	95	1,596	3,523	22,160
18	Oldham	4,993	2,496	78	27	220	285	6	10	163	97	146	107	9	1	771	55	9,464
19	Preston	1,544	10,722	1	35	1	157	4	42	—	—	12	350	—	187	20	9,142	22,333
20	Prestwich	430	535	—	—	7	8	2	1	—	—	42	57	8	—	194	115	1,904
21	Rochdale	3,977	2,942	4	10	47	135	4	17	96	244	97	299	8	8	399	858	9,145
22	Saddleworth	57	128	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	185
23	Salford	1,995	4,317	—	—	174	997	5	19	—	—	—	—	29	29	243	691	8,499
24	Skipton	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	Stockport	11,510	1,656	3	5	19	62	4	22	27	84	33	65	—	—	165	178	13,833
26	Todmorden	431	342	—	—	2	1	3	4	2	7	12	10	—	—	118	11	3,158
27	Warrington	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28	Wigan	3,379	9,250	2	2	5	11	3	9	7	7	9	20	2	2	83	75	12,866
	Sundry Unions not in cotton districts proper	8	1,255	—	—	1	2	—	—	20	85	2	4	—	—	7	—	2,161
	Total	72,488	77,000	380	940	1,258	3,413	167	472	783	1,563	1,780	4,503	619	360	†9,771	2,059	206,465

* Some of these are persons who are merely nurses, &c., for operatives, being too old for permanent service.

† These returns, in many instances, include fustian cutters, dyers, hand-loom weavers, &c.

JOHN WM. MACLURE, *Hon. Sec.*

CHAPTER XIII.

King Cotton—Mistake of Southern Sympathisers—Sufferings of the People—Sickness and Mortality not increased—Analysis of the Subscriptions—Colonial and Foreign Contributions—The "George Griswold"—Address to Captain Lunt—Contribution of the New Society of Painters in Water Colours—Mr. Ansdell—List of Subscriptions and Balances remaining in hand—Comparison of the Sums subscribed to the Cotton Famine, the Royal Patriotic Fund, the Indian Mutiny Fund, the Hartley Colliery Fund, &c.—Comparative Statement of Local Subscriptions, Poor Rate, and Central Executive Contributions—Causes of the Varied Pressure of Distress—Remissions of Rent in Various Localities—Percentage of Uncollected Rates, 1861-4—Rates and Factory Assessments at Ashton, Bury, and Glossop—Adjournment of Central Executive *sine die*—Proposed Disposal of the Balance of the Fund.

THE word famine has hitherto been almost exclusively applied to the existence of a short supply of food, resulting from bad harvests; and much foolish fury has from time to time been vented against men who have "forestalled the market" and hoarded stocks of grain for the sake of higher prices; but who, whilst pursuing only their own selfish interests, have really performed for society the office which the captain of a ship disabled at sea does for his crew, when he puts them upon short allowance to enable them to reach the destined port alive. In Lancashire, in 1861-5, whilst bread was plentiful and cheap, we yet had all the evidences of famine except fever and pestilence; and these were only prevented by the extraordinary liberality by which the universal public, from the Queen on the throne to the brigade of shoeblacks who ply their vocation in the streets of the metropolis, met the cry of distress, and rushed to its relief. The advisers of the Southern States of North America, when they declared Cotton to be King in England, and calculated upon the aid of Great Britain in their struggle for independence, knew that the arrangements of modern society had rendered cotton almost as important and necessary to the well being of Lancashire as even corn itself. They foresaw the trouble of the Lancashire operatives, and perhaps remembered the former reputation of the

county for lawlessness, as illustrated by the frequent inquiries of the second King George, who, when visitors from that county came to court, frequently asked, "Well, well, well; are you all quiet in Lancashire now?" They doubtless calculated that the operatives of Lancashire would oblige the government to fetch them cotton to spin at all hazards. They saw clearly enough the trouble which must arise from the blockade of the cotton ports, but they did not see the hundreds of thousands of hands which would be stretched forth to help; they saw half a million of men, women, and children deprived of the means of earning daily bread, but they did not see that, whether earned or not, bread would be supplied; and that the moral tone of the people would even be improved under their sufferings, by the universal sympathy extended towards them. Nor did they calculate upon the appreciation of causes and the intense love of fair play, which now forms a large element in the conduct of the operative classes of this country. In matters where they can, or think they can, trace their sufferings home to the conduct of an individual or of a class, the operatives are still a formidable body to deal with; but when a trouble is inevitable, being demonstrably due neither to the conduct of employers nor of the government; or when they believe that they suffer in a good cause, the trouble is borne just as bodily illness would be—patiently, if not stoically, and with a belief that, in some way or other, good will come out of it. So much we owe to the influence of day-schools, to penny newspapers, and other cheap literature. The suffering during the cotton famine was very great and was nobly borne; the small hoards of the most prudent operatives were gradually exhausted—the best clothes were turned into food—the neat household furniture was consumed—the beds were exchanged for straw—the much-loved musical instruments and the little cottage library were sold—and the trim cottage itself was often exchanged for a single room, an attic, or a cellar; until many a well-conducted and saving man found himself at last, after all his struggles, and all his self-denying care, at the door of the relief committee or the board of guardians; on a level with the idler or the spendthrift who had for years despised advice, and who had long lost all sense of shame. But now came in the strong helping hand, nerved by the patriotism and benevolence of the whole empire; and the last and fatal effects of famine—pestilence and

death—did not follow. Food, clothing, bedding, and fire, were supplied in sufficient proportions to maintain life and health; and the three years of severe suffering passed over the cotton districts without any sensible increase of disease, and without increasing the frequency of the death toll. Every inquiry set on foot by the central executive resulted in the confirmation of these pleasing facts, and in the last health report issued, the honorary secretary wrote as follows:

"The year 1864 tells the same tale as the two which went before it. Its statistics demonstrate that in so far as registers of death and disease tables may be looked upon as an evidence of the public health, the cotton famine has failed to bring in its train any of those evils which the most sanguine might have feared. In the country generally the death toll was unusually high. A tolerably extended series of statistics, embracing the experience of ten years, shows that the average annual rate of mortality among the dwellers in towns in England is expressed by 24·2 in the thousand; last year it reached the higher aggregate of 25·8. Such being the result of the returns from the country generally, it is satisfactory to find that, in so far as *these districts* are concerned, not only was there no proportionate increase over preceding years, but the actual mortality fell below the average of the last three years; the period embraced in the Sanitary Association's returns. In other words, the deaths for the year were at the rate of twenty-eight to the thousand as compared with twenty-nine, the average for the three preceding years."

Higher praise than this the relief committees could not have; the grim king Death himself affirms that their arrangements, including the extra liberality of boards of guardians, have not only prevented an increase of his harvest, but have even hindered his usual work. Under these circumstances we can afford to think lightly of the impositions practised from time to time upon the committees by undeserving recipients, and to look with interest to the sources and the character of the means by which this great result was achieved.

The books of the central executive show thirty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight separate entries of subscriptions up to the end of December, 1864, conveyed in eighty-six thousand seven hundred and sixty-four letters; which letters, in December, 1862, and January, 1863, came to hand at the rate of eight hundred per day.

The letters despatched up to the end of December, 1864, were one hundred and fifty-five thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, besides five hundred and eighty-two printed documents, which numbered one hundred and sixty-five thousand seven hundred and twenty-four copies.

The total sum dealt with in the balance sheet of 31st December, 1864, is £931,398. 1s., of which amount £13,510. 7s. is set forth as "promised but not collectable." In some instances the donors have themselves, after partial payment, fallen victims to the crisis; in others, payment is probably refused upon the plea that the money is not needed; and we hope that the men whose consciences will allow them to enjoy the reputation of having given, whilst the money is still in their own purses, are very few indeed.

The total sum distributed in relief by the central executive through the various committees was £841,809. To this the Mansion House committee added £419,692, besides sending £53,531 to committees in Ashton-under-Lyne district which were not recognised by the central executive; and the various committees themselves made local collections amounting to £297,008, and received direct from other sources £49,659. To the amount of local subscriptions is to be added about £80,000 collected in Manchester, and paid direct by the collecting committee into the funds of the general committee. Thus the total sum of money distributed by committees was £1,661,679; in addition to which there passed in food and clothing, through the hands of the central executive, sixteen thousand five hundred barrels of flour, nine hundred and ninety-seven barrels of beef, bacon, &c.; five hundred barrels of biscuits; four hundred and ten cases of fish; two hundred and twenty-eight sacks of potatoes, carrots, turnips, &c.; two hundred and twenty-five deer; with many hundreds of pheasants, hares, rabbits, &c.; twenty-eight chests of tea; two and a half pipes and one hundred and eight dozens of wine; eleven thousand five hundred and nineteen tons of coal; and eight hundred and ninety-three bales of clothing, blankets, and clothing materials. The whole of these contributions in kind were valued at £111,968, making the total amount of public subscriptions, £1,773,647. Large contributions of clothing and materials for clothing passed also through the Mansion House committee, but of the value of these no accurate estimate seems to have been made.

The balance-sheet of the central executive to 31st December, 1864, shows the receipt of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine separate individual donations, amounting to £242,865. 12s. 8d.; collections at three thousand and ninety-three churches and chapels of £53,265. 6s. 9d.; collections from five thousand four hundred and three parishes of £65,517. 8s. 2d.; collections amongst the workpeople of one thousand four hundred and eighty-four firms of £15,715. 0s. 4d. Collecting committees were organised in one thousand two hundred and forty-one places in connection with the central committee at Manchester, exclusive of the committees in connection with the Mansion House fund; and the exertions of those who remitted to Manchester resulted in the sum of £497,782. 15s. 1d. So that, deducting from the individual donations the above-named £80,000 paid in by the Manchester collecting committee, we find that about three-fifths of the fund resulted from regular organisation and sustained effort; one-sixth from spontaneous individual benevolence, one-seventh from collections in places of worship, and about one-sixtieth from the working people employed by various firms. Looking to the localities from which the subscriptions came, we find every quarter of the globe represented, illustrating at once the immense field covered by the Anglo-Saxon race, and how impossible it is for either space or time to separate man from home sympathies or home interests.

Much fear and some anger was expressed by the newspapers from time to time that Lancashire was not doing its duty. The returns of the honorary secretary, compared with the balance-sheet, show that the collections by local committees, including the Manchester collecting committee, were equal to forty-one per cent of the whole central fund; and to twenty-four per cent of the total sum, including the amount distributed by the Mansion House committee. The reader will form his own conclusion as to whether a district containing about ten per cent of the population of England and Wales, whilst suffering under such a paralysis as the cotton famine, which destroyed one-half of its principal industry, and inflicted a large extra burden of poor-rates, did its duty by finding twenty-four per cent of the relief fund, in addition to the immense amount which is known to have been distributed in private charity, but which cannot be reduced into statistical shape. For ourselves, whilst we

are utterly ashamed of the few rich men who in various localities refused to subscribe, we are yet eminently satisfied with the total result; and feel that Lancashire may stand any amount of honest and fair criticism without a blush.

Of the whole amount of foreign and colonial subscriptions (£93,041. 17s. 1d.), fifty-five per cent was sent from Australia, including New South Wales; a sum which, compared with the population of the colony, had no equal out of Manchester; and this contribution speaks very eloquently for the character of the people, and for the prospects of emigrants to that country. Next on the list of foreign donors stands North America, credited for £1,333. 5s. 11d. in money and about £27,000 in provisions.

This subscription from America, occurring during their own terrible civil war, was so unprecedented, that some people thought it a bribe to induce England to take sides with the Federals in the struggle; but conversation with persons coming from the Northern States always tended to show that all they wished and cared for was to be let alone; and the various official or unofficial offers at mediation, from this side of the Atlantic, were always similarly met by the Federal government. The subscription originated with George Griswold, a merchant of New York, who freighted his own ship, bearing his own name, and paid the salaries of the officers and sailors, and sent them across to the old country, to help the distressed operatives of Lancashire. And it is probable that his noble example, aided by the knowledge that the United States were indirectly the cause of the trouble, increased this solid expression of sympathy, and sent supplies of food to tens of thousands of unwilling idlers on this side the water. When the "George Griswold" arrived in Liverpool, the Custom House officials had learned from the government that they had no duties to perform on board; the Liverpool authorities declined to receive dock or town dues; and everybody engaged, down even to the dock porters and landing waiters, alike declined to be paid for their services. So great an act of benevolence on the part of foreigners even broke through the red tape bands of the government, and inspired everywhere the same benevolent inclination; in which the railway companies also joined, carrying the cargo free of cost; and the occasion was fitly celebrated by making the captain of the "George Griswold" the guest of the corporation of Liverpool, and of the general

committee at Manchester. At the Manchester dinner, the following address, enclosed in a morocco case, was presented to Captain Lunt:—

"To Captain Lunt, commander of the ship 'George Griswold.'

"Sir,—The general committee of the fund for the relief of the distress in the manufacturing districts feel that in meeting you, as the representative of the New York international relief fund, no ordinary words can express the welcome they desire to give to the munificent contribution which you have borne from the New World to the Old. They welcome you as the citizen of a great nation, which, in the troubles of her own domestic strife, cannot forget the sufferings of those whose language, traditions, and faith are inseparable from her own. They recognise in this generous sympathy for the unmerited privations of the cotton workmen an overflow of that charity which is alike the bond of social harmony and one main security for international peace. They desire to say, on behalf of the workmen who have endured with such intelligent patience the calamity which you come to mitigate, that the remembrance of this help in the time of need will be treasured up, to yield hereafter an abundant harvest. For themselves, as representing those possessed of wealth and all its attendant advantages, they assure you that, in proportion as their own hearts have been stirred by the danger and misery of their poorer countrymen, are they rendered susceptible of all the grateful emotions which they desire to express to you from the whole English people, who have succoured the cotton workmen in their need, and especially from those counties which have been the scene of a crisis marked by a wonderful concert of exertion, sacrifice, and patience. They hope that, on your return to America, you will, on behalf of all classes in this country, express the united British wish that nothing shall ever occur to interrupt that brotherly feeling which now exists between the two countries—a feeling which this noble and generous act must tend greatly to strengthen and cement. They desire, finally, to thank you, personally, most warmly, for the generous self-devotion which induced you to take charge of the 'George Griswold,' and they ask you to convey to the owners of that vessel their grateful acknowledgments for the noble manner in which they placed it at the disposal of the munificent donors of its precious freight. These acts have awakened

a corresponding feeling in this country. Your cargo has been received without port or dock dues, and carried to its destination without charge. In conclusion, they desire to express a hope that you may long enjoy the cheering recollection of having been able so greatly to assist in this work, and thus inseparably to connect your name with this great proof of international sympathy.

"Signed, on behalf of the general committee of the fund for the relief of the distress in the manufacturing districts,

"ABEL HEYWOOD, mayor, chairman.
"JOHN W. MACLURE, honorary secretary."

Captain Lunt, in responding, said: "Gentlemen,—The address that has now been read to me, I have listened to with greater pleasure than I have words to express; and I tender you my warmest thanks, in the name of those I this day represent here—the owners of the 'George Griswold,' and the donors of the cargo. They will be highly gratified with this most cordial welcome. The contributions of the merchants of New York were given solely for their sympathy with your suffering operatives. Stevedores, tug-boats, pilots, shipping masters, all contributed their services. I am happy to publish this, the right good fellowship of the labouring classes in so good a cause. On my arrival at the port of Liverpool I found the steam companies vieing with each other to tow my ship to port free of charge. The dock and town dues were remitted—the ship docked and discharged—the cargo coopered and landed—and transmitted to its various destinations free of any charge. My heart warms to each and every one of those volunteers whose liberality I deem it only right to them publicly to acknowledge. I shall ever cherish the friendly feeling shown to me in Liverpool and Manchester; and I shall carry back to my country the noble reception given to the 'George Griswold' and her cargo, and the good feeling expressed for the United States by many able gentlemen, at different times, since my arrival. God grant that the war desolating our land may soon be settled—that trade and commerce may flourish once more—and that England and America may ever extend the hand of good fellowship to each other."

Subscriptions were also received (chiefly given by British residents) from Austria, South Africa, the Brazils, China, Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, Egypt, France, Germany, Gibraltar, Holland,

Italy, India, Java, Maderia, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Russia, Spain, Smyrna, South America, Sandwich Islands, Turkey, and the West Indies.

Amongst the most interesting of the home subscriptions was that of The New Society of Painters in Water-Colours, who resolved at a general meeting to request each member to contribute one (or more) painting or sketch in water-colours, to be exhibited in London, Manchester, and Liverpool, and afterwards allotted to subscribers as prizes. This design was admirably carried out, the exhibition comprising three hundred and eighteen contributions, valued at £4,500, and resulted in an addition to the relief fund of £1,904. 16s. 9d. Mr. Ansdell gave to the fund one of his finest works, "The Hunted Slave," which was also disposed of by lot to subscribers, and realised £696. 3s. The readers of the *British Workman* also subscribed £3,564. 10s. 1d. At a meeting which the author attended in Marylebone, Lord Radstock stated that a subscription had been made amongst the London brigade of shoeblacks, and that some of the gifts would, if measured by the circumstances of the donors, put to shame many of the largest contributors. The reader will no doubt find a list of the principal contributions interesting; nor is it likely that time will lessen the importance of the record.

FUND FOR THE RELIEF OF DISTRESS IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.

RETURNS FROM THE PRINCIPAL LOCAL COLLECTING COMMITTEES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, SHOWING THE AMOUNT REMITTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WITH THE BALANCE NOW IN HAND, IN EACH CASE UP TO NOVEMBER, 1864.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Committee.	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund. £ s. d.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds. £ s. d.	Balance in Hand. £ s. d.
Aldershot	968 14 6	—	—
Abergavenny	118 19 0	—	—
Alton	—	—	—
Arundel	238 9 1	—	—
Abingdon	286 8 11	[1]2 0 0	—
Ambleside	514 4 2	—	—
Aylesbury	294 19 0	—	—
Amesbury	141 4 0	—	—
Carried forward	£2,562 18 8	£2 0 0	—

[1]To the Mansion House committee.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund. £ s. d.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds. £ s. d.	Balance in Hand. £ s. d.
Brought forward	2,562 18 8	2 0 0	—
Aberystwith	270 3 10	—	—
Aberdare	675 12 6	—	—
Alfreton	238 1 8	—	—
Aberavon	30 0 0	—	—
Birmingham	8,000 0 0	—	6,816 19 7
Bristol	5,000 0 0	—	—
Burton-on-Trent	665 15 2	[1]20 0 0	—
Burton-on-Trent (Working Men's)	280 0 0	—	—
Brierley Hill	286 0 7	—	—
Barnard Castle	77 1 3	—	—
Blackpool (Operative)	90 0 9	—	—
Banbury	800 0 0	—	24 13 7
Bromsgrove	—	—	—
Bradford, Yorkshire	10,500 0 0	—	11,178 0 4
Beaumaris	294 0 0	—	—
Beccles	93 8 6	—	—
Buxton	156 0 0	[2]1 7 6	5 2 2
Buxton (Special Fund)	—	[3]711 6 6	200 7 5
Bideford	38 16 5	—	—
Barnstaple	322 6 2	[4]97 11 11	—
Bridport	469 5 4	—	—
Bury St. Edmunds	1,167 11 2	—	—
Balham Hill, Surrey	194 10 1	—	—
Beverley	244 10 7	—	—
Buckingham	728 19 6	—	—
Batley	500 0 0	[5]150 0 0	150 0 0
Bridgenorth	153 17 9	—	—
Birkenhead	1,240 0 0	—	23 11 0
Birstall	227 9 9	—	—
Bilston	200 0 0	—	156 4 8
Barnham (no return)	—	—	—
Brentford	171 9 10	[6]333 17 7	1 18 3
Brighouse	500 0 0	[7]18 0 0	50 9 7
Bournemouth	300 0 0	—	—
Briton Ferry	170 0 0	—	—
Bedford	—	—	—
Bath	—	[6]2,333 10 9	38 10 8
Carried forward	£36,647 19 6	£3,667 14 3	£18,645 17 3

[1]To Macclesfield. [2]To the hospital fund, for cotton operatives' benefit.

[3]To the hospital fund, for cotton operatives' benefit. Balance not available for the general purposes of the central relief committee.

[4]To Halliwell, £30; to Oldham, £48. 16s. 7d.; to West Buckland, £10; to Hindley, £8. 15s. 4d.

[5]To Sheffield. £218 value in goods sent to the central committee in addition.

[6]To the Mansion House committee. [7]To Ripponden. Various sums still to collect.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds.	Balance in Hand.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	36,647 19 6	3,667 14 3	18,645 17 3
Bath Easton	138 3 9	—	—
Berwick-on-Tweed (English side)	—	[1]557 7 3	—
Cotton Districts Relief Fund	85,732 12 0	—	53,995 0 0
Canterbury	1,748 14 0	[1]1,000 0 0	—
Chapel-en-le-Frith	200 0 0	[2]32 14 9	38 5 7
Cheltenham	3,678 7 2	[3]428 7 1	—
Cirencester	148 19 6	—	—
Carmarthen	548 0 4	—	—
Cambridge University	3,301 3 10	[4]28 15 0	—
Chichester	1,303 5 10	—	—
Chester (City)	1,685 3 6	—	—
Chester (County)	4,405 3 3	—	—
Crewe	1,138 6 6	—	4 5 0
Cleckheaton	—	—	—
Cardiff	—	—	—
Cockermouth	406 6 1	—	—
Chelmsford	—	—	—
Craven	—	—	—
Chesterfield	1,200 0 0	—	140 8 8
Chestal	—	—	—
Castletown, Isle of Man	156 12 5	—	—
Carnarvon	—	—	—
Christchurch	212 14 1	—	—
Dudley	—	—	—
Darlington	2,500 5 1	—	—
Doncaster	—	—	—
Devonport	1,358 13 0	—	—
Durham	902 17 3	—	—
Derby	1,590 17 9	—	—
Dewsbury	500 0 0	[5]100 0 0	330 0 0
Dowlais	141 3 3	—	—
Dolgelly (no return)	—	—	—
Dartmoor	—	—	—
Droitwich	—	—	—
Dorsetshire	—	—	—
Dorchester	527 12 9	—	130 6 1
Dursley	141 9 3	—	—
Denbigh	188 6 2	—	—
Exeter	—	—	—
Carried forward	£150,502 16 3	£5,814 18 4	£75,284 2 7

[1]To the Mansion House committee.

[2]Distributed locally. Balance reserved for local distress. [3]To various local committees.

[4]To Rev. F. H. Williams, Ashton-under-Lyne, £13. 5s.; to Queensland emigration fund, £15. 10s.

[5]To Sheffield.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds.	Balance in Hand.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	150,502 16 3	5,814 18 4	75,284 2 7
Evesham	534 12 5	—	—
Elland-cum-Greetland	303 11 1	—	32 0 0
Earlsheaton	180 0 0	—	—
Ebbw Vale	422 4 10	—	—
Eccleshall	140 19 7	—	—
East Moulsey	60 0 0	—	20 0 0
East Dereham	202 8 4	—	—
Faversham	—	—	—
Fenton, near Stoke	185 7 11	—	—
Falmouth	147 3 11	—	—
Felstead, Essex	—	—	—
Fleetwood (no return)	—	—	—
Great Malvern	1,141 0 9	—	—
Gateshead	362 19 2	—	—
Gloucester	5,752 6 0	[1]2,942 12 2	—
Grantham	776 18 11	—	—
Gainsborough	—	—	—
Godalming	—	—	—
Grimsby	343 6 3	—	1 11 0
Guisborough	117 12 10	—	—
Gladestig (no return)	—	—	—
Grangemouth	45 0 0	—	4 14 8
Greenfield	—	—	—
Gosport	300 0 0	—	—
Hastings	3,080 0 8	—	—
Herne Bay	—	—	—
Hanging Heaton, Dewsbury	10 16 0	—	—
Huddersfield	2,000 0 0	[2]972 0 0	5,134 5 0
Harrogate	550 0 0	—	90 0 0
Hitchin	450 7 4	—	—
Huntingdon	374 19 2	—	—
Hazel Grove	50 0 0	—	—
Heckmondwike	314 12 0	—	149 1 6
Horncastle	169 12 9	—	—
Hertford	543 2 10	—	—
Howden	191 8 7	—	—
Hanley	793 19 8	—	—
Hartlepool	106 3 6	—	—
Holywell	—	—	—
Carried forward	£170,153 10 9	£9,729 10 6	£80,715 14 9

[1]Sent through various channels.

[2]Distributed in local relief. Cloth and materials, purchased at a cost of £307, sent in addition. £500 for Sheffield has been placed at the disposal of the committee, and £100 has since been voted to the guardians for the relief of local distress, and more is likely to be required for this purpose.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds.	Balance in Hand.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	170,153 10 9	9,729 10 6	80,715 14 9
Holmfirth	[1]599 19 4	—	90 0 0
Harting, Petersfield	86 19 6	—	—
Horsham	346 14 8	—	—
Hereford (City)	302 8 4	—	—
Hungerford	63 9 6	—	—
Hetton-le-Hole	124 6 4	—	—
Handsworth	150 0 0	—	—
Hatfield	180 3 4	—	—
Honiton	147 7 8	—	—
Halifax	1,000 0 0	[2]3,271 3 2	1,977 0 0
Ipswich	2,000 0 0	—	1,033 0 0
Kidderminster	215 0 6	—	—
Kentish Town	—	—	—
Kensington	1,670 0 0	—	1,100 0 0
Kendal and Lonsdale Wards	1,900 0 0	[3]392 1 8	1,600 0 0
Kingswinford	186 14 0	—	—
Kingston	—	—	—
Keswick	25 0 0	—	—
Kingsbridge	95 0 0	—	—
Kettering	261 3 0	—	—
Knaresborough	200 0 0	—	15 13 8
Liverpool	57,125 0 0	[4]1,544 0 0	35,579 11 11
Lewes	—	—	—
Llangollen	133 3 2	—	—
Leeds	7,000 0 0	[5]567 4 0	18,064 2 2
Lowestoft	314 1 9	—	—
Launcestown	44 0 0	—	—
Longton	—	[2]60 0 0	—
Llanelly	660 0 0	—	—
Leicester	5,265 16 0	—	—
Leek	370 0 0	—	—
Lichfield	886 10 4	—	—
Leominster	—	[6]50 0 0	—
Langholme	283 6 7	—	—
Loddon	—	—	—
Lambeth (no return)	—	—	—
Louth	79 17 0	—	—
London University College	255 10 0	—	—
Long Buckby	5 15 6	[7]41 15 0	—
Carried forward	£252,130 17 3	£15,655 14 4	£140,175 2 6

[1]Goods purchased at a cost of £260 sent in addition. [2]To various local committees.
[3]To various local committees, £192. 1s. 8d.; to Sheffield, £200. [4]To whom not stated.
[5]£200 to Lisburn, for Irish distress; and £367. 4s. to the Leeds ladies' relief committee.
[6]To the Society of Friends' committee.
[7]To the Mansion House and *Daily Telegraph* committees.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds.	Balance in Hand.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	252,130 17 3	15,655 14 4	140,175 2 6
Llandaff	100 13 9	—	—
Llandudno	131 14 1	—	—
Little Harwood	30 0 0	—	—
Middlesborough	265 0 0	—	4 10 11
Merthyr Tydvil	—	—	—
Mold	257 15 7	—	—
Maidstone	1,140 0 0	—	—
Monmouth	219 12 7	—	—
Malton	1,546 9 6	—	—
Mountain Ash	61 6 1	—	—
Mirfield	[1]575 15 6	—	—
Masham	55 15 6	—	—
Moreton in the Marsh	29 3 9	—	—
Marazion	117 19 0	—	—
Melton Mowbray	309 7 6	[2]10 1 3	—
Maidenhead	684 10 0	—	—
Northampton	1,213 4 2	—	—
Netherfield	15 0 6	—	—
Northwich	286 17 11	—	0 10 0
Newport Pagnell	273 1 8	—	—
Newport, Monmouthshire	789 18 2	—	—
Norwich	662 7 10	—	—
Newcastle-on-Tyne	4,023 18 3	—	—
Newark	532 11 3	—	—
Newcastle-under-Lyme	205 19 0	—	—
Newbury	—	—	—
New Swindon (Great Western Railway Company)	226 17 2	—	—
Oxford (University)	5,574 3 4	—	10 10 0
Oxford (City)	1,100 0 0	—	1,000 0 0
Oxford (County)	2,098 15 2	—	—
Oswestry	500 0 0	—	94 2 5
Ossett	272 13 2	—	—
Oldbury and Langley	159 2 6	—	—
Otley	300 0 0	—	50 0 0
Oaken Gates	63 9 5	—	—
Plymouth	1,550 0 0	—	2 13 3
Penrith	335 10 8	—	—
Penzance	618 12 6	—	—
Presteign	157 17 5	—	—
Portsmouth	263 4 11	—	—
Pimlico	3,278 8 9	—	—
Carried forward	£282,157 13 10	£15,665 15 7	£141,337 9 1

[1]Goods purchased at a cost of £35 sent in addition. [2]To Hyde.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund. £ s. d.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds. £ s. d.	Balance in Hand. £ s. d.
Brought forward	282,157 13 10	15,665 15 7	141,337 9 1
Poole	280 16 1	—	—
Pontypool	2 4 0	[1]27 18 7	—
Ripon	1.162 4 0	—	—
Richmond	915 0 9	—	—
Reading	[2]2,180 0 0	—	18 15 11
Rhyl	233 18 0	—	—
Runcorn	848 9 1	[3]20 0 0	—
Redditch	429 8 6	—	—
Rugeley	222 13 6	—	—
Ruthin	50 0 0	—	—
Rainhill	210 0 0	—	—
Romsey	122 15 6	—	—
Ruabon	132 13 10	—	—
Rye	68 18 6	—	—
Ryde	603 0 0	—	—
Romford	181 9 8	—	—
Retford East	83 0 0	—	—
Rotherham	1,041 0 0	—	—
Shrewsbury	1,603 10 1	—	—
St. Pancras	2,739 19 0	—	—
St. Margaret's and St. John's, Westminster	1,540 9 11	—	—
St. Bartholomew's	49 11 0	—	—
St. Luke's, Middlesex (no return)	—	—	—
St. Marylebone	10,000 0 0	—	889 10 10
St. Helens	2,550 8 6	—	—
Stroud (Borough)	2,052 16 0	—	—
Staffordshire (County)	4,936 1 11	—	—
Southport	3.963 4 7	—	—
Sydenham and Forest Hill	721 4 1	—	—
Scarbro'	250 0 0	[4]440 0 0	—
Settle	506 7 11	—	—
Swansea	1,500 0 0	—	450 0 0
Sunderland	1,787 4 6	—	—
Seaham Harbour	98 18 6	—	—
Seven Oaks	249 14 10	—	—
Stoke-upon-Trent	638 1 6	—	—
Shaftesbury	115 12 9	—	—
Stonehouse East	300 0 0	—	69 5 0
Smethwick	163 0 9	[5]10 0 0	—
Carried forward	£326,691 11 1	£16,163 14 2	£142,765 0 10

[1]To the *Daily Telegraph* fund. [2]Balance to be applied to the building of almshouses.
[3]To Bredbury. [4]To the Mansion House committee. [5]To Oldham.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds.	Balance in Hand.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	326,691 11 1	16,163 14 2	142,765 0 10
Sheffield	2,500 0 0	—	8,161 0 0
Stockton-on-Tees	433 16 3	—	—
South Shields	—	—	—
Saltash	80 10 0	—	—
Sudbury	199 12 3	—	—
Shelf	177 14 1	—	—
Sandwich	61 10 1	—	—
Sowerby Bridge	10 0 0	[1]424 7 0	334 14 3
Sandown	—	—	—
Southwark (no return)	—	—	—
Tunbridge Wells	733 8 2	[2]1,080 8 6	—
Teignmouth	215 15 7	[3]70 0 0	—
Tewkesbury	203 11 5	—	—
Tavistock	107 19 10	—	121 8 8
Thetford	84 7 4	—	—
Tilbury (no return)	—	—	—
Tredegar	170 0 0	—	—
Tunstall	268 8 0	—	—
Tenby	167 8 4	—	—
Uttoxeter	144 11 4	—	—
Upper Edmonton	145 17 9	—	—
Ulverstone (no return)	—	—	—
West Bromwich	500 0 0	[4]114 0 0	163 2 11
West Hartlepool	304 12 6	—	—
Wordsley	356 5 11	—	—
Worcester	2,000 0 0	—	740 0 0
Wolverhampton	3,616 0 6	[5]188 19 6	—
Whittington (no return)	—	—	—
Workington	247 3 6	—	—
Wetherby	240 0 0	—	—
Wellington, Somerset	215 6 4	—	—
Wilton, Salisbury	75 0 0	—	—
Wakefield	—	—	—
Wimbledon	745 1 4	—	—
Ware	321 12 11	—	—
Walsall	1,020 5 2	[6]17 10 6	—
Warwickshire	6,017 11 4	[7]55 0 0	—
Carried forward	£348,055 1 0	£18,113 19 8	£152,285 6 8

[1]£178 to Ripponden; £10 to Blackburn; and £236. 7s. distributed in local relief. Balance required for the same purpose.

[2]Disbursed in various ways. [3]To whom not stated.

[4]To Sheffield, £100; to Mr. Lee, Manchester, £14.

[5]To Blackburn, £151. 11s.; to the Mansion House committee, £33. 17s 3d.; to the Baptist relief fund, £3. 11s. 3d.

[6]To Preston, £17. 10s. 6d. [7]To Salford, £50; to Blackburn, £5.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds.	Balance in Hand.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	348,055 1 0	18,113 19 8	152,285 6 8
Wolverton	373 17 4	—	—
Whitby	368 7 7	—	—
Writtle	146 7 6	—	—
Whitehaven	513 10 6	[1]665 4 5	—
Warrington	3,060 19 0	—	—
Wrexham	900 0 0	—	82 4 10
Willenhall	100 0 0	—	11 4 7
Wednesbury	—	—	—
Wareham	163 12 3	—	—
Worksop	100 0 0	—	—
York	3,085 0 0	—	1,930 9 5
Yeadon	100 0 0	—	2 16 6
Yarmouth	4 1 0	[2]715 0 0	119 0 7
Yeovil	—	—	—
Total	£356,970 16 2	£19,494 4 1	£154,431 2 7
IRELAND.			
Belfast	4,378 0 10	—	—
Cork (City)	1,800 0 0	—	—
Cork (County)	1,550 17 11	[3]27 7 3	—
Down (County)	—	—	313 0 0
Dublin	25,000 0 0	—	—
Tyrone (County) no return	—	—	—
Total	£32,728 18 9	£27 7 3	£313 0 0
SCOTLAND.			
Alloa	250 0 0	—	266 10 6
Aberdeen	8,000 6 2	—	—
Arbroath	1,136 15 8	—	—
Alford	—	[4]85 8 6	—
Blairgowrie	—	—	—
Banff	1,063 18 11	—	—
Brechin	—	—	—
Berwickshire	—	—	—
Cambusnethan	401 0 0	—	—
Dysart	263 19 1	—	—
Dundee	6,125 9 2	—	—
Dumfries	4,500 0 0	—	—
Dumbarton	200 0 0	[5]150 0 0	138 0 0
Carried forward	£21,941 9 0	£235 8 6	£404 10 6

[1]To Carlisle, £465. 4s. 5d.; to Dalston, £200.
[2]To the Mansion House committee, £700; to Blackburn, £7. 10s.; to Preston, £7. 10s.
[3]To the Dublin committee. [4]To the Aberdeen committee.
[5]To Duntocher, £120; to Kirkintillock, £30. Will send £70 in due course.

	Amount Remitted to the Central Fund.	Amount Remitted to Other Funds.	Balance in Hand.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward	21,941 9 0	235 8 6	404 10 6
Dunkeld	163 13 0	—	—
Edinburgh	34,265 4 8	—	—
Falkirk	550 14 6	—	—
Forfar	317 11 6	—	—
Fife (County)	2,379 0 0	—	—
Galashiels	—	—	—
Hawick	488 19 0	—	—
Haddington	240 7 6	—	—
Jedburgh	527 7 7	—	—
Kelso	457 7 6	—	—
Kirkcudbright	135 5 0	—	—
Kincardine on the Forth	—	[1]30 2 0	—
Kirkcaldy	787 2 0	—	—
Linlithgow	49 5 7	—	—
Montrose	1,110 0 0	—	—
Perth (City and County)	4,023 10 0	—	—
Port Glasgow	200 0 0	—	—
Peterhead	303 0 6	—	—
Renfrew	—	—	—
Selkirk (County)	150 8 7	—	—
Selkirk (Burgh)	108 4 1	—	—
Thurso	316 15 6	—	—
Tillicoultry	126 0 0	—	—
Total	£68,641 5 6	£265 10 6	£404 10 6

N.B.—Parochial collections are not included in the above returns.

Compiled for the central executive committee,

JOHN WM. MACLURE, *Hon. Sec.*

We insert also—

RETURNS FROM THE PRINCIPAL LOCAL COLLECTING COMMITTEES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, SHOWING THE BALANCES RETAINED IN HAND MARCH 13, 1865.

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Cheshire	*Birkenhead	23 11 0	
	*Crewe	4 5 0	
			27 16 0
Derbyshire	*Buxton	200 7 5	
	*Chapel-en-le-Frith	38 5 7	
	*Chesterfield	140 8 8	
			379 1 8
Dorsetshire	*Dorchester		130 6 1
Devonshire	*Plymouth	2 13 3	
	*East Stonehouse	69 5 0	
	*Tavistock	121 8 8	
			193 6 11
	Carried forward		£730 10 8

[1]To the Perth committee.

		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Brought forward		730 10 8	
Denbigh . .	*Wrexham . .		82 4 10	
Essex . .	*Brentford . .		1 18 3	
Glamorganshire	*Swansea . .		450 0 0	
Lincolnshire .	*Grimsby . .		1 11 0	
Middlesex .	*Kensington . .		1,100 0 0	
Norfolk . .	Yarmouth . .		119 0 7	
Oxfordshire .	*Banbury . .	24 13 7		
	*University . .	10 10 0		
	City . . .	1,000 0 0		
			1,035 3 7	
Staffordshire .	*Bilston . . .	156 4 8		
	*West Bromwich .	163 2 11		
	*Willenhall . .	11 4 7		
			330 12 2	
Surrey . .	*East Moulsey .		20 0 0	
Warwickshire	*Birmingham . .		6,816 19 7	
Westmoreland	*Kendal . .		1,600 0 0	
Worcestershire	*Worcester . .		740 0 0	
Yorkshire .	Bradford . .	11,178 0 4		
	*Batley . . .	150 0 0		
	*Brighouse . .	50 9 7		
	*Dewsbury . .	330 0 0		
	Huddersfield . .	5,134 5 0		
	*Harrogate . .	90 0 0		
	*Heckmondwike .	149 1 6		
	*Holmfirth . .	90 0 0		
	Halifax . .	1,977 0 0		
	*Knaresborough .	15 13 8		
	Leeds . . .	18,064 2 2		
	*Otley . . .	50 0 0		
	Sheffield. . .	8,161 0 0		
	Sowerby Bridge .	334 14 3		
	*Yeadon . . .	2 16 6		
	*York . . .	1,930 9 5		
			47,707 12 5	
Outstanding in England . . .				60,735 13 1
	Alloa . .	266 10 6		
	Dumbarton .	138 0 0		
			404 10 6	
Outstanding in Scotland . . .				404 10 6
				£61,140 3 7

The committees marked thus (*) have remitted to the central fund sixty per cent of their subscriptions.

Printed by order of the central executive committee,

JOHN WM. MACLURE, *Hon. Sec.*

The above list, whilst showing no great haste on the part of some of the collecting committees to strengthen the hands of the

central executive, is yet, with the addition of the balance at the command of the executive, the measure of the excess of benevolence beyond the necessities of the crisis.

Many of the individual subscriptions were anonymous, and consisted of very small sums, but they showed sufficiently that knowledge of the suffering had become general, and that sympathy was not confined to any class. We append a few specimens :—

	£	s.	d.
A Child's Money Box	0	9	0
Spademan's Mite (various sums)		—	
Tom Long the Carrier, ditto		—	
A Poor Man's Mite	0	1	0
Budding Sympathies	0	7	0
Humanitas	0	10	0
A Town Vicar (weekly)	0	10	0
Two Sisters in London, M. and R.	0	5	0
Review	0	2	6
Vain is the Help of Man	0	5	0
A Merry Convivium Germanium	0	12	6
An Artilleryman	0	5	0
A Family Dinner Weekly, per Fast and Give	0	6	0
Lizzie	0	0	6
A Friend, Shrewsbury	0	2	0
A Little Girl	0	0	6
A Few Working Men, Shrewsbury	0	1	0
A Marksman (prizes foregone)	0	2	0
A Friend to the Distressed	0	0	6
Sympathiser	1	0	0
A Police Sergeant, Market Bosworth	0	1	0
A Lady's Maid	0	5	0
Thank Offering of a Staffordshire Farmer	5	10	0
Polly (for two weeks)	0	1	0
Haud Ignarus Mali	0	12	6
Dispute at a Bachelors' Club	0	6	6
A Few Art Mechanics	0	8	6
Cyphon	1	1	0
A Little Boy at St. Andrew's (half of his whole savings)	1	0	0
Carluke	1	0	0
Pat	0	10	0
A Working Man of Cardross	0	2	6
A Parishioner, Wroughton	0	1	0
A Friend Abroad	0	16	0
Once a Week	0	10	0
Friend in Need	0	5	3
Susan and Jane, helped by Miss Mary	1	0	0
A Poor Person	0	0	6
A Factory Boy and Girl	0	5	0
Winnings of a Party at a Game of Speculation	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
A North Worcestershire Rector	0	10	0
Odds and Ends (collected in Filey)	1	0	0
Six-Seventy	1	0	0
Alpha	0	2	0
A Few Coachmakers, Driffield	0	3	0
Plain Roast and Boiled	0	4	0
A Labourer	0	0	6
A Widow	0	0	1
A Poor Woman	0	0	3
Forty Little Boys (saved from pleasures usual on 5th November)	7	0	0
With G. P. D.'s Compliments	0	14	1
Savings of an Old Smoker's Pipe	0	2	0
Instead of Giving New Year's Gifts	5	0	0
Sympathy	0	1	4
Ada	0	10	0
Gertie	0	2	6
Sea N.	0	5	0
Compromise for an Offence Against the Game Laws	0	9	6
A Penny Lecture on Cotton	0	16	8
A Few Poor Boys, Boston	0	1	9
Price of a Turkey, and Two Subscriptions	0	14	0
Three Children, Mirfield	2	0	0
A Trifle from a Housemaid	0	3	0
Schoolboys, Scholes, Cleckheaton	0	6	0
Servants in a Family	0	2	6
A Poor Woman	0	1	0
Penny Gatherings, Creesbrook	6	0	6
An Unionist American, Hong Kong	5	0	0
A Lancashire Lad in Egypt	2	0	0
A Sunday School Class	0	1	0
Proceeds of a Raffle	0	14	0

It may safely be asserted that this outpouring of benevolence never was equalled; and such a proof of the power of voluntary effort is demonstration, that whilst for normal requirements ratable contributions, under authority, are the proper sources of reliance, yet that for any extraordinary or unforeseen occurrence, the public spirit, the manliness, and the benevolence of the Anglo-Saxon race, will always efficiently provide.

The subscription to the Indian Mutiny relief fund was in London £440,200. 18s. 6d.; and in Manchester, £17,394. 10s. 5d.; and, after supplying all calls, it left a disposable balance. The amount subscribed to the Royal Patriotic fund was £1,459,739. 14s. 3d., and there remains a disposable balance; the Hartley Colliery fund amounted to £83,234. 17s. 9d., and left a considerable balance; the subscriptions to the sufferers by the Holmfirth and Sheffield floods

left in each case a disposable balance; and the cotton famine fund leaves in the hands of the central executive about one shilling, and in those of the Mansion House committee about sixpence, in the pound, of the respective subscriptions unappropriated.

We have spoken of the contributions of Lancashire as satisfactory; it will be interesting also to compare the amounts collected in each locality as measured by its ratable value, and the amounts received by the same locality from all sources:—

	Contributed from Local Sources.			Contributed by Central Executive, Mansion House Committee, and General Sources, per pound on Assessment.	Total Extra Expenditure from all Sources, per pound on Assessment, 1862-4.
	Voluntary Collections per pound on Assessment.	Extra Poor-law Expenditure per pound on Assessment, exclusive of In-door, for 1864-5.	Local Collection, and Extra Poor-law Expenditure combined.		
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1. Ashton-under-Lyne	1 9	9 $2\frac{1}{8}$ =	10 $11\frac{1}{8}$	19 $9\frac{7}{8}$	30 9
2. Barton-on-Irwell	2 4	0 $4\frac{7}{8}$ =	2 $8\frac{7}{8}$	1 $7\frac{1}{4}$	4 $4\frac{1}{8}$
3. Blackburn	4 6	4 $4\frac{3}{4}$ =	8 $10\frac{3}{4}$	9 $2\frac{5}{8}$	18 1
4. Bolton	2 2	1 $6\frac{3}{8}$ =	3 $8\frac{3}{8}$	2 $4\frac{5}{8}$	6 1
5. Bury	4 0	2 $10\frac{5}{8}$ =	6 $10\frac{5}{8}$	4 4	11 $2\frac{5}{8}$
6. Chorley	1 $11\frac{1}{2}$	1 $8\frac{1}{2}$ =	3 8	3 $6\frac{1}{8}$	7 $2\frac{1}{8}$
7. Clitheroe	2 $5\frac{1}{2}$	0 $11\frac{1}{2}$ =	3 5	0 $9\frac{7}{8}$	4 $2\frac{7}{8}$
8. The Fylde	0 $6\frac{1}{4}$	0 $4\frac{3}{4}$ =	0 11	0 $1\frac{3}{4}$	1 $0\frac{3}{4}$
9. Garstang	0 $4\frac{1}{2}$	0 $6\frac{7}{8}$ =	0 $11\frac{3}{8}$	0 $1\frac{5}{8}$	1 1
10. Glossop	4 0	6 4 =	10 4	22 $2\frac{3}{8}$	32 $6\frac{3}{8}$
11. Haslingden	3 $7\frac{1}{2}$	4 $1\frac{3}{4}$ =	7 $9\frac{1}{4}$	7 $4\frac{7}{8}$	15 $2\frac{1}{8}$
12. Lancaster	2 10	0 3 =	3 1	0 $7\frac{3}{4}$	3 $8\frac{3}{4}$
13. Leigh	1 2	1 $0\frac{1}{8}$ =	2 $2\frac{1}{8}$	0 $7\frac{1}{8}$	2 $9\frac{1}{4}$
14. Macclesfield	1 2	1 7 =	2 9	1 $4\frac{5}{8}$	4 $1\frac{5}{8}$
15 Manchester, Chorlton, and Salford	5 1	5 $8\frac{1}{8}$ =	10 $9\frac{1}{8}$	2 $9\frac{3}{8}$	13 $6\frac{1}{2}$
16. Oldham	2 2	3 $8\frac{1}{8}$ =	5 $10\frac{1}{8}$	8 $0\frac{7}{8}$	13 11
17. Preston	5 $6\frac{1}{4}$	6 $5\frac{7}{8}$ =	12 $0\frac{1}{8}$	8 $10\frac{1}{4}$	20 $10\frac{3}{8}$
18. Prestwich	1 0	1 $1\frac{3}{4}$ =	2 $1\frac{3}{4}$	1 $5\frac{3}{4}$	3 $7\frac{1}{2}$
19. Rochdale	2 $6\frac{1}{2}$	4 $2\frac{5}{8}$ =	6 $9\frac{1}{8}$	5 11	12 $8\frac{1}{8}$
20. Saddleworth	0 $4\frac{1}{4}$	3 $9\frac{1}{2}$ =	4 $1\frac{3}{4}$	0 $4\frac{1}{2}$	4 $6\frac{1}{4}$
21. Skipton	3 $8\frac{1}{2}$	0 $5\frac{1}{4}$ =	4 $1\frac{3}{4}$	0 $7\frac{1}{8}$	4 $8\frac{7}{8}$
22. Stockport	5 $1\frac{1}{4}$	3 $7\frac{3}{4}$ =	8 9	13 11	22 8
23. Todmorden	2 2	1 $6\frac{1}{4}$ =	3 $8\frac{1}{4}$	3 $2\frac{7}{8}$	6 $11\frac{1}{8}$
24. Warrington	0 8	0 $9\frac{5}{8}$ =	1 $5\frac{5}{8}$	2 $0\frac{1}{2}$	3 $6\frac{1}{8}$
25. Wigan	3 $9\frac{1}{2}$	1 $9\frac{1}{8}$ =	5 $6\frac{5}{8}$	6 $0\frac{3}{8}$	11 7

The last report of the honorary secretary sets forth in full, the various contributions from which the above proportions are calculated, and deserves to be preserved entire, as exhibiting the kind of materials which were laid before the central executive every month.

SUMMARY OF RETURNS OF LOCAL COMMITTEES.

No.	Local Committees in the Unions of	Amount received and promised up to this date.					Balance in hand—Less Liabilities for Food and Clothing Distributed.			Promised Subscriptions unpaid (not included in Balance in hand.)
		Strictly Local Sources. £	General. £	Central Committee £	Mansion House Committee. £	Total. £	In Cash. £	Value of Food and Clothing. £	Total. £	£
1	Ashton-under-Lyne	27,806	11,431	19,324	82,274*	318,835	1,412	—	1,412	72
2	Barton-upon-Irwell	4,412	420	4,428	1,982	11,242	120	41	161	80
3	Blackburn	27,191	4,020	58,846	36,873	126,930	716	—	716	402
4	Bolton	14,216	1,119	17,546	11,848	44,729	557	100	657	267
5	Burnley	12,242	1,246	21,932	9,969	45,389	354	—	354	227
6	Bury	20,379	881	36,504	16,598	74,362	1,060	28	1,088	973
7	Chorley	4,092	960	12,329	9,443	26,824	314	4	318	83
8	Chorlton	10,682	3,100	37,307	13,692	64,781	25	15	40	—
9	Clitheroe	2,525	116	1,365	945	4,951	1,006	11	1,017	—
10	Fylde (The)	661	110	106	170	1,047	—	—	—	—
11	Garstang	179	166	100	40	485	—	—	—	—
12	Glossop	4,232	1,076	41,491	13,205	60,004	88	—	88	8
13	Haslingden	12,058	179	27,672	15,798	55,707	694	8	702	580
14	Lancaster	3,420	681	—	—	4,101	650	—	650	—
15	Leigh	2,188	148	530	784	3,650	385	—	385	13
16	Macclesfield	3,364	603	5,947	4,251	14,165	320	—	320	—
17	Manchester	28,737	2,539	54,393	29,881	115,550	—	—	—	—
18	Oldham	12,127	2,316	50,989	28,713	94,145	402	5	407	175
19	Preston	30,728	5,474	74,837	37,898	148,937	466	80	546	—
20	Prestwich	2,959	618	4,920	5,601	14,098	188	20	208	60
21	Rochdale	11,668	492	43,544	20,727	76,431	385	5	390	203
22	Saddleworth	331	105	200	410	1,046	—	—	—	—
23	Salford	8,718	1,325	21,734	11,650	43,427	53	—	53	—
24	Skipton	580	36	864	2,995	4,475	208	—	208	10
25	Stockport	24,088	3,455	73,887	36,380	137,810	998	—	998	100
26	Todmorden	3,234	1,387	6,453	3,958	15,032	332	7	339	—
27	Warrington	1,459	—	—	—	1,459	118	—	118	—
28	Wigan	17,937	3,077	40,261	19,290	80,565	1	—	1	33
	Sundry Unions not in Cotton Districts proper	4,795	2,579	5,830	4,317	17,521	143	—	143	—
	Total	297,008	49,659	841,339	419,692	1,607,698	10,995	324	11,319	3,286
	Total last week in April	297,104	49,598	836,069	418,463	1,601,234	9,743	451	10,194	3,333
	Decrease	96	—	—	—	—	—	127	—	47
	Increase	—	61	5,270	1,229	6,464	1,252	—	1,125	—

* In addition to this, £53,531 has been granted by the Mansion House Committee to Relief Committees which are not connected with the Central Executive.

Judged by their wealth, Preston, Stockport, Manchester, Blackburn, Bury, and Glossop were the largest voluntary contributors to the fund; whilst the largest recipients were, according to the same measure, Glossop, Ashton, Stockport, Blackburn, and Preston; and the places which imposed on themselves the heaviest local taxation were, Ashton, Preston, Glossop, Manchester, Blackburn, and Rochdale.

The stranger to Lancashire will naturally ask why the distress varied so widely in the different cotton towns, and why Ashton and Glossop should have suffered so disproportionately to all other places. It will readily be comprehended that the first measure of distress must be looked for in the proportion of the inhabitants of any place who were dependent on the manufacture. Thus, in Warrington, The Fylde, Garstang, Saddleworth, and Skipton, where a very small section only of the people are dependent on the trade, the distress was only slight; whilst in places such as Ashton, Glossop, Blackburn, Bolton, and Stockport, where the cotton industry forms almost the sole maintenance of the people, it would naturally be expected to be very severe. But this pressure would be modified where the mills were devoted principally to the production of fine goods, because the quantity of cotton required being less, and the cost of labour much greater in proportion to the cost of the raw material, the rise in the prices of cotton would produce much less effect, than in places where coarse spinning and fustian weaving formed the staple employment of the people. Thus Bolton, which spins fine yarns, although almost wholly dependent upon the cotton industry, suffered much less than Rochdale, where a considerable proportion of the people are engaged in the woollen manufacture; because the cotton goods produced by Rochdale required a large amount of the very cotton which the American war had deprived them of.

Again, the pressure would depend to some extent upon the character and position of the employers. When the demand for goods is much reduced by a considerable rise in prices, it then becomes a question who shall supply the reduced quantities; competition is increased in keenness, profits fade away, and only the most skilful or the most reckless continue the contest in full force. If a man has plenty of capital, and can see sufficiently far into the future to induce him to hold stock, he will go on working; but in crises like the cotton famine this is a dangerous game, as many

men have found to their cost. In the early days of the famine, whilst cotton was continually rising in price, work was very profitable, and large sums of money were realised ; but by-and-by came the reaction, and owners of from £50,000 to £200,000 found themselves beggared in a month, stript as completely and as rapidly as if they had indulged in *rouge et noir* at Baden Baden. In such times it is not wonderful that prudent men who have made money in the regular course of trade should take advantage of the opportunity for retiring from business; especially when the rates of discount rule so high as to give them without risk, almost as much for the use of money as the ordinary profits of trade will yield. In this way many mills which were closed during the crisis have had, or will have to find new proprietors, before getting to work again. At Ashton, where the bulk of the productions are coarse goods, and the population almost wholly dependent upon cotton, several large establishments will have to change hands; add to these circumstances the fact that the existence of two committees, with different sources of supply, prevented the amount of pressure upon the workpeople which elsewhere sent them in search of independent employment, and the excess of distress is explained.

Lord Derby, at the county meeting held in Manchester, in December, 1862, gave credit to employers and others for £200,000 distributed in private charity. The flow would doubtless decrease as the central fund increased, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the succeeding two and a half years added one-half as much to the above sum ; and there were also in some places organised distributions by the Society of Friends, by the Swedenborgians, and by other religious sects whose efforts have never been tabulated.

A considerable amount of controversy took place in the newspapers on the subject of cottage rents, some persons asserting that employers ruthlessly exacted their rents whilst the hands scarcely earned salt, whilst others affirmed that large amounts were forgiven in various places. Probably there was truth in both assertions, and we have endeavoured to collect reliable information upon the subject, and here present the returns supplied, through Mr. Maclure, in the spring of 1865 :—

RENTS REMITTED, &c.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.—*Hurst :* Arrears of rent are not less than £1,500. Not aware of any voluntary remissions. *Dukin-*

field: Rents owing to employers, £5,115; voluntarily remitted, £70. *Denton:* No voluntary remissions, but a large amount of arrears. *Mossley:* Arrears of cottage rents, £8,147; almost all uncollectable, but not voluntarily remitted. *Newton Moor;* Two firms have remitted cottage rents to the amount of £4,000, and a third firm to the amount of £300.

BARNOLDSWICK.—Only one employer owns cottage property, and he has been a very heavy loser, without prospect of recovery.

BARTON-UPON-IRWELL.—*Worsley:* The position of one firm, illustrative of the neighbourhood, is as follows: arrears, £150; cancelled, £20; but not more than ten per cent of the balance is recoverable.

BLACKBURN.—*Livesey:* One employer remitted about £560, but his example has not been imitated. *Rishton:* The principal owner has reduced his rents ninepence per cottage per week, but there are no large owners, and although arrears are heavy, all hope to be paid. *Blackburn:* No voluntary remissions, but very heavy losses have been sustained, and rents have been considerably reduced, in some cases as much as one-half. Several small owners of cottage property, who used to live upon their rents, have been reduced to beggary.

BOLTON.—*Belmont:* Only thirty cottages belong to employers. Cottage rents reduced one half, and very much in arrear. Operatives getting work elsewhere are allowed to go without giving security for rent. *Farnworth:* Much has been forgiven, many operatives not having paid a penny for two years. *Bolton Township:* Upwards of £4,000 has been remitted in rent. One employer kept his own hands whilst out of work, and there have been large private subscriptions.

BURNLEY.—*Burnley Town:* No voluntary remissions of rent, but very little paid, and many forgiven on leaving the locality. *Higham:* The collection of rents was generally suspended during the distress, but none were formally remitted. *Colne:* No actual remission of rent, but present payment generally waived.

BURY.—*Shuttleworth:* One manufacturer, employing some eight hundred persons, has paid wages to his hands during the whole period of the distress, and not allowed one of them to go either to the guardians or the relief committee. Another firm has given about £150 in rent, and has also supported ten families.

About £100 in rent has been given by other firms. *Blue Pits:* About £20 has been given by one firm in rents, besides their subscription to the relief committee. Another firm distributed soup freely for some time, besides subscribing to the fund. *Ramsbottom:* The arrears owing to two firms amount to about £3,000, of which, although not formally remitted, a very small portion will be recoverable. There have been no distraints for rent for two years and a half, except where the conduct of the tenants was very bad.

CHORLEY.—*Withnell:* One firm has remitted rents amounting to about £800. *Horwich:* No rent remitted, but one firm has advanced £600 to their hands, expecting only a small portion to be repaid.

GARSTANG.—*Catterall:* Rents remitted by one firm, £377.

GLOSSOP.—*Glossop:* Arrears of rent estimated at £20,000, but not formally remitted; not many employers are owners of cottages, and landlords and tenants are equally undesirous to make any statement. *Tintwistle:* At least £5,000 must be owing for rent, but many persons who never expect to get paid avoid the formal remission in order to retain the tenants. One firm has given from £2,000 to £3,000, just beyond the boundary of this district.

HASLINGDEN.—*Haslingden:* No rents have been remitted, and in one case an employer has rigorously exacted the fortnightly rent, regardless of the amount of the balance. *Newchurch:* Several cases of remission of rent, but the amount cannot be given. *Accrington:* One gentleman has remitted about £100, but this is the only instance. *Stacksteads:* The arrears of cottage rents is about £700, of which only a very small portion will be recovered. *Helmshore:* Rents considered lost, about £120; none voluntarily remitted. *Crawshawbooth:* Uncollectable arrears of cottage rents from £400 to £500. *Bacup:* Cottage rents are largely in arrear, but have not been remitted; a lady, lately deceased, has herself dispensed about £600 in charity during the distress. *Oakenshaw:* The trustees of a deceased gentleman remitted rents in 1863 amounting to £243, and have reduced the cottage rents sixpence each per week. Another firm paid during many weeks half wages, amounting in the whole to about £700, and did not allow any of their hands to go to the relief committee; another firm distributed about £500 during the time their mill was closed.

HEBDEN BRIDGE.—There are only three employers who are owners of cottages. The rents are in arrear, but not formally remitted. £60 is owing to one of them, and he does not expect to get any of it.

MANCHESTER.—*Blackley:* The only firm owning cottages has remitted rents, but they decline to give a statement. *Whitefield:* No actual remissions, but operatives removing from the neighbourhood have not been distrained upon for arrears.

OLDHAM.—*Thornham:* In many cases the rents have been remitted; there has been no turning out. With the exception of two or three cases, the landlords are themselves working men; and those two or three almost contributed our relief fund. *Chadderton:* Annual cottage rental, £5,050; remitted, £835; arrears, £3,083; uncollectable, £1,041. *Hollinwood:* No rents voluntarily remitted, but heavy arrears, which are not expected to be paid.

PRESTON.—*Preston:* Some owners have reduced their rents by one half. In other cases the collection of rent has practically been suspended during the distress, particularly by manufacturers who are cottage owners. The absolute remissions are few, the sum, so far as can be learned, not reaching £300. The rent roll of the largest cottage owner in Preston shows £1,428 per annum, and his receipts have been as follows:—1860, £1,420; 1861, £1,367; 1862, £962; 1863, £1,047; 1864, £1,176. Most of this property being subject to building clubs, the collection, so far as possible, has of course been a necessity. *Bamber Bridge:* The cottage rents voluntarily remitted amount to about £950, a large portion of which was by one firm. *Farrington:* Only one firm own cottages, and they have remitted rents amounting to £4,090, and distributed food and fuel to the amount of £2,100.

ROCHDALE.—*Whitworth:* The rule has been for employers not to collect or ask for cottage rents during the distress; during the last two or three months of 1864, some persons have paid whilst they have had work, but many have left the neighbourhood without any acknowledgment of debt.

STOCKPORT.—*Stockport:* No cases of remission of rent, but very heavy amounts of uncollectable arrears. *Mellor:* A great amount of irrecoverable arrears, but no actual voluntary remission. *Marple:* Rent in arrears, about £1,200, but no distraints. One

employer has advanced to his workpeople more than £1,000, of which it is expected but a small proportion will be recovered. *Hazel Grove:* One employer remitted all his rents (about £400) from September, 1862, to April, 1864. He distributed in provisions and coals about £300, besides giving largely to the relief committee. *Bredbury:* About £737 are in arrear, a large portion of which is irrecoverable. *Heaton Mersey:* Irrecoverable arrears of cottage rents, £360. *Offerton:* The arrears are heavy, but there has been no formal remission. The principal employers have freely distributed bread, milk, and coals.

WARRINGTON.—*Ashton in Mackerfield:* One firm has remitted £139; the only case so far as known. *Warrington:* One firm has remitted rents amounting to £1,100.

WIGAN.—*Hindley:* No rents remitted; one employer stopped arrears out of wages, leaving scarcely anything to live upon.

In connection with this subject, it will doubtless interest the reader to learn what allowances the poor-law overseers have been obliged to make; but in order to properly appreciate the following table, it is necessary to explain that where the allowances are smallest, the practice of compounding with owners induces them to pay and to include the poor rate in the rent; whilst, where the allowances are largest, the taxes are collected direct from the occupiers of cottages as well as from others.

PERCENTAGE OF RATES UNCOLLECTED ON ACCOUNT OF EMPTIES, OR EXCUSED ON ACCOUNT OF INABILITY TO PAY.

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
Ashton-under-Lyne	2·80	4·25	5·87	5·70
Blackburn	—	—	—	—
Burnley	6·03	8·3	12·8	—
Bury	1·7	3·7	3·8	6·4
Chorley	5·17	6·47	3·12	9·17
Glossop	4·75	9·75	14·0	11·25
Manchester	2·35	3·37	2·93	—
Oldham	5·06	15·29	16·31	—
Preston	3·50	4·25	5·0	5·50
Salford	3·37	3·68	4·87	5·12
Wigan	1·02	·07	·07	1·9

The following table of factory assessments will illustrate the severe pressure upon employers, in the most distressed districts, whilst their mills were stopped :—

COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENTS ON FACTORIES AND OTHER PROPERTY.

	Factories.	Cottages, &c.	Shops, &c.	Total.		
	£	£	£	£	s.	d.
Bury . .	9,645	19,287	44,815	73,747	3	4
Ashton-under-Lyne	22,100	52,105	—	74,205	0	0
Glossop . .	10,757	39,246	—	50,003	0	0

RATES LEVIED AND COLLECTED.

	£	£	£	£
	1861-2.	1862-3.	1863-4.	1864-5.
Bury.—Levied . .	6,214	11,636	14,399	11,023
Collected . .	6,096	10,946	13,406	10,626
Ashton.—Levied . .	9,096	9,331	72,706	
Collected .	8,932	9,101	58,651	
Glossop.—Levied . .	4,930	17,383	15,006	4,613
Collected .	4,586	13,557	11,546	—

When the central executive, in June, 1865, adjourned *sine die*, the circular to the general committee announcing the pleasing fact stated that under the circumstances it had not been thought necessary to call them together. Why this excuse should have been made, it is difficult to say. It is quite certain that a meeting of the general committee would have expressed its gratitude to the executive for its arduous labours, constant care, and successful management, quite as heartily as the executive thanked the president of the poor-law board, the government engineer, and the special commissioner; and they would not have passed over the honorary secretary, who for four long years had forgotten the claims of business and of family, for the sake of the poor of Lancashire; who had worked day and night in the collection, the management, and the distribution of the largest benevolent fund upon record; and who in his reports has left official documents which will be valuable for reference in all future time. "In the multitude of council there is wisdom;" but with all the shrewd suggestions of the noble chairman, and all the weight of his great influence; with all the intense activity of brain and persevering energy and administrative ability of the vice-chairman (Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth), and the aid of other members of the central executive, the work of the relief committees would soon have come to a dead lock, without the earnest willingness, the untiring industry, the prompt decision, the active control and practical frankness and kindliness of Mr. Maclure. He was always at hand, to receive deputations, to give

information, to solve difficulties, and to put into practical shape any suggestions or applications to the executive committee; and the manner in which the various local committees replied to his numerous requirements (frequently involving much labour, for purposes of which they were not aware, or of which they could not see the utility), afford a demonstration that he had won and retained their entire confidence.

The central executive committee is adjourned *sine die*, but there still remains one duty which only the general committee can accomplish, viz., the disposal of the balance of the fund, amounting to about five per cent of the collection; and this is a matter which requires grave consideration, but which ought not to be long delayed. The fund was contributed for a special object, the relief of the cotton operatives who were thrown out of employ by the national policy in regard to the American war. Uncertainty as to the duration of the struggle, and the fear of engendering permanent pauperism, alike dictated that the distribution should be limited to the amount necessary to preserve life and health. That duty has been accomplished, and whilst about one-fourth of the operatives have found other homes or other occupations for themselves, returning prosperity is now rapidly absorbing the remainder; and the occurrence of small strikes in various places for increased wages, whilst the position of the employer in the market is still a lottery, imperatively demand that relief committees should be disbanded, and the trade be left to its natural course. And what is to be done with the balance of the fund? Doubtless it could be well used in paying the unavoidable debts of prudent operatives, who have been reduced from comparative opulence to the deepest poverty; but the invidious duty of picking out the men to be relieved would produce intense dissatisfaction; it might be funded for a case of future necessity, but who knows what another generation of trustees would consider themselves justified in doing with it, or to what purpose it might be applied. And there is no need for such a course. Society is not likely to grow worse, and the overwhelming benevolence which provided enough and to spare for the cotton famine, will not fail in any future calamity. It would be a heavy task to re-distribute the remnant of the fund amongst the subscribers; nor would it be quite fair to redistribute it in equal proportions, for a reference to the list of localities will show that whilst from some places every penny

which was subscribed was also remitted to Manchester; other collecting committees remitted less than sixty per cent of their subscriptions, and have re-appropriated the remainder. If the general committee were to propound a scheme for appropriating the balance *pro rata* amongst the infirmaries and hospitals for the sick in the cotton districts, according to the number of beds in each, and to submit it to the different collecting committees for approval; they might then, in the absence of objections, appropriate the balance either to the general uses of these establishments; or, better still, to grants by the trustees of each infirmary to convalescents, to assist them until their renewed strength enabled them to return to work. Persons who are acquainted with these establishments know that a family will frequently manage to live whilst one of its number is in hospital; but when he returns home, free, indeed, from disease, but too weak for work, the extra burden breaks them down and drives them to the boards of guardians. In such cases a convalescent fund would be of immense value, and would be appropriated to cotton operatives and those of affiliated trades almost exclusively. The honorary secretary has issued a circular containing suggestions of this kind, which will doubtless have due consideration.

CHAPTER XIV.

Reduction of Relief, and Introduction of Ticket System, at Stalybridge—Excitement of the Operatives—Position of the Clergy—The Ragged Trousers in the Pulpit—The Strike against Tickets—Assault upon the Officials—Window Smashing—The Police Defeated—Sacking of the Relief Stores and Shops—The Riot Act Read—The Soldiers and the Police—Sunday Visitors—The Mob at Ashton—Sacking of Provision Shops—The Riot Act and the Charge of the Military—Excitement at Dukinfield—Sacking the Co-operative Store—The Police and the Roughs at Ashton—The End of the Riot—The Deputation to the Mansion House—The Premium for Violence—Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth at Stalybridge—Address of the Central Executive—The Rev. Mr. Eagar at the General Committee—The Apology for Riot.

In the report of the central executive committee, dated March 30th, 1863, occurs the following paragraph :—

"Many of the district committees have been engaged in a careful revision of the cases of recipients of relief, in order both to arrest every motive for undue reliance on the fund, and to increase the number and force of proper incentives to salutary exertions. The scale of relief during the winter season had in some districts exceeded the standard which the central executive committee had uniformly recommended. That standard was based on an average of two shillings per head weekly, exclusive of fuel and clothing. This amount of assistance having been found sufficient to keep in health during the rigour of the season large numbers of people in so many populous relief districts, where no extraneous aid has been available, there can be no doubt that any excess beyond it is unnecessary, and ought to be abandoned. Some variation in scale, as adapted to the numbers in families, may properly occur in different districts ; but the average amount should not exceed two shillings weekly per head, with fuel and clothing. The native energy and independence of the population thus co-operating with the exertions of the more wealthy classes, and of the district relief committees, have diminished the number of persons dependent on the relief funds ; but the reduction in the weekly expenditure has hitherto been confined to that incurred in the supply of clothing."

The committee had for a considerable time, on the approach of winter, anxiously endeavoured to get the various boards of guardians to raise the allowance of recipients during the winter to an average of two shillings per head per week, and had themselves made very liberal grants to the local relief committees. To these exertions and this liberality, together with the mental occupation afforded to adults and juveniles in the schools, was probably owing the almost total exemption from the famine fever and other epidemics, which had been very generally feared as likely to break out in the winter season. But the danger was now past, and the returning mildness of the spring invited, and the growing ennui of the adult schools showed the necessity for, more active employment to preserve the *morale* of the operatives; whilst the prospect of the future dictated prudence in regard to expenditure, so that the funds might not be exhausted, prior to a renewal of the cotton supply, sufficient for the ordinary work of the operatives.

The scale of relief at Stalybridge had been unusually high, and some of the recipients were quite as well off under the relief committee as when engaged at their ordinary employments; and pay night with this class of the population still retained its old character, the publicans obtaining a large portion of the money which ought to have provided food for suffering wives and children.

The committee, acting upon the hint of the central executive, endeavoured at once to reduce the amount of relief to the average, and to abolish drunkenness, by substituting payment by tickets upon shopkeepers instead of money. They proposed also, in order to facilitate their process of book-keeping, to retain one day's pay in hand. Probably, if one of these proposed changes had been inaugurated at a time, there would not have been much difficulty in their accomplishment, although it is difficult for an outsider to see the value of retaining a day's pay in hand; but it is easy to understand that to the operatives, whose expenditure must have been arranged in accordance with the former allowance, it would look like robbery; and the shopkeeper who was supplying goods on credit would also think that the sum would be quite as useful in his hands as in the bank, to the credit of the relief committee. The reduction in the weekly amount would, no doubt, have been submitted to as an unwelcome necessity, if proposed alone; and it is probable that a proper explanation of the reason for the ticket

system would have induced the sober majority to overrule the drunkards, if that proposal had stood by itself; but when the notice for the whole of the alterations appeared at once, an opposition was immediately set on foot, and an organised resistance prepared. The retention of a day's pay was denounced as tyranny, and the ticket system as an insult, displaying a thorough want of confidence, and involving a general charge of misconduct. When men are engaged at profitable work it may be desirable to retain a day's pay, in order to enforce the fulfilment of a contract; but the relief committee did not want to keep the people, and would have been very glad to see them shift for themselves. Some of the most active members of the committee were personally unpopular; one in particular, who was a liberal contributor and a hard worker, had the misfortune to be very rude in manner, and much addicted to profane swearing, which made the operatives complain that they were treated like dogs. They must have been very much depressed in spirits, for a deputation appointed by them to see the committee and protest against the ticket system did not dare to show their faces; but appear to have led their companions to suppose that their request had been submitted to the committee and refused.

And some of the clergy, who were superintendents of the schools, appear to have rather encouraged the resistance of the people to the committee, under the plea that they were being ill-treated. It is said that a dissenting minister, having got hold of a ragged pair of trousers which had been given out by the committee, held them up in the pulpit; and generalising his remarks from the individual instance before him, ridiculed the gifts which had poured in from all parts of the country, with the benevolent intention of protecting from the wintry wind the bodies of men and women who, at their ordinary occupations, experience a constant summer temperature; and to fit their children for attendance upon the gratuitous instruction which was provided for them. Here again the Stalybridge committee had been at fault in management. There was no necessity to distribute ragged clothes; they had sewing classes at work, and the trousers might either have been repaired or cut up for children's clothing, as such things are in prudent families, and as they were in other localities under relief committees. But here were all the necessary elements for a

disturbance—three or four unwelcome and oppressive changes of system, a cowardly deputation deceiving its constituents, disloyal school superintendents, and an inflammatory dissenting preacher haranguing an already excited and discontented crowd, and ridiculing their "tyrant rulers." The result of all this agitation was that on the evening of Thursday, 19th March, a large meeting was held on "the plantation," and a resolution adopted to turn out, if the committee persisted in their notice. Accordingly, when on Friday morning the officials went as usual to the schools to pay the operatives, and for this purpose tendered the tickets which had been prepared, the men at each school refused to receive them, and turned out in succession, and crowded the streets; and as the cab containing the officials passed along, they assailed it with stones, breaking the windows, but fortunately not injuring the occupants. The excitement had been growing daily from the time of the announcement of the change, but no breach of the peace seemed to be anticipated, and no provision was made to prevent it. The people had hitherto been so submissive under their sufferings that they were treated as so many machines, who were to work out, automatically, the dictates of the authorities. But confidence was now to be rudely shaken. Mr. Bates, although one of the most valuable, was the most unpopular member of the committee; and about three o'clock a crowd assembled before the mill belonging to the firm in which he was a partner, and smashed every window in the place, besides injuring some of the machinery. The small constabulary force was called into requisition, and made a charge upon the crowd, securing several prisoners; but were in their turn assailed by showers of brickends and stones, and driven from the field, and the prisoners rescued. The mob then passed on to the clothing stores of the relief committee, which were speedily broken open, and the stock thrown into the street, where a regular scramble ensued, each one helping himself or herself to the best which they could get hold of. Attention was next directed to the shop of another member of the committee named Ashton, which was also broken open, and the stock of tea, sugar, coffee, and spices carried off, whilst window-smashing soon became general. One of the police in his flight took refuge in the shop of a druggist, and the windows of the house were at once smashed; then several hands were held up in

the crowd, and a cry was raised, "Now for Dyson's," and the stones immediately flew to the other side of the street, and every window in Dyson's eating house was speedily broken. Mr. Bates then came in for a second benefit, the mob passing on to his house at Cockerhill, where the windows were smashed and the furniture broken by stones; many of which were thrown by girls in blue jackets, which were the gift of a benevolent lady to the relief committee. Mrs. Bates lay ill in bed, and the assault upon her house hastened, if it did not cause, her death.

Another mob assembled at the central offices of the relief committee, in Melbourne-street, where, also, every window was smashed. The two adjoining houses were used as stores for clothing, and these were broken open and the stock hurled as fast as twenty pairs of hands could throw it into the street, where women concealed it about their persons, or men carried it off in bundles. Not satisfied with these appropriations, some villain made an attempt (happily unsuccessful) to fire the premises. The demon of mischief had now got firm hold, and more damage was done in a few hours than many weeks could repair. Towards evening a company of hussars arrived from Manchester; and the crowd, with a loud shout of "The soldiers are coming!" dispersed in every direction. Under cover of the sabres of the hussars, the police recovered their courage, and some of the men who sacked the relief stores were captured. Mr. Harrison, who, with Dr. Hopwood, the mayor, accompanied the military, read the Riot Act amidst the most discordant noises, when the soldiers very soon cleared the streets, and the night closed in quietly.

The number of prisoners on Friday, 20th March, was eighty, of whom twenty-nine were next day committed to Chester for trial; the bulk of them, as, indeed, of the rioters generally, being Irish or of Irish descent. On Saturday, 21st, most of the shops were kept closed, and the walls were plentifully placarded with the announcement that the riot act had been read, and that crowds in the streets were forbidden. Nevertheless the streets were crowded, and in front of the police court, walls and windows were thronged by people, anxious to learn what was going on inside; and evidently expecting a renewal of disturbance. Two omnibuses had been brought from Ashton for the removal of the prisoners, and the soldiers with drawn swords guarded the front of the police office.

Amongst the crowd were many women and girls, who continually insulted the soldiers and police, and chaffed the male bystanders for their cowardice. When a discharged prisoner made his appearance he was hailed with vociferous cheers, whilst the insults of the women to the soldiers became every hour more coarse and brutal. At the least movement among the military the crowd were panic-stricken, and ran in every direction; but as soon as their fears were proved to be groundless, they gravitated again towards the police office.

At half-past four there was a real movement; the police were marched towards the railway station—the prisoners were brought out—the omnibuses loaded—the cavalry faced about and followed the vehicles at a rapid pace to the railway train. The police, on nearing the railway, received their usual salute—a shower of stones, one of which took such effect as to lay its victim senseless. Volley after volley was discharged, and many injuries were inflicted before the arrival of the military; but when they came, and charged by detachments in various directions, the mob dispersed as if by magic, with the exception of a few who stumbled, or were knocked over, in their hurry to escape, and who lay sprawling and shrieking in the mud. And whilst one crowd had thronged the neighbourhood of the police office, and another had lain in wait for the police near the railway, a third and most orderly one had organised a meeting in "the plantation," and sent a deputation to the mayor; which, returning after half an hour's conference, reported to the meeting that, if they would wait till Monday, the mayor (Dr. Hopwood) would try to get them tickets. At this announcement, there was a shout for money and no tickets; and a second deputation was sent, and returned with the same result. Another shout was raised for "money and bread," and a rush was made past the market house to the shop of Mr. Ridgway, provision dealer, who, finding an attempt being made to force his shutters, threw out his stock of loaves and cheeses from the window, and these were eagerly grabbed and carried off. One fellow, who supposed he had got a prize, hastily opened an earthen jar, and finding it contained only mustard, dashed it, with an oath, furiously to the ground, declaring that "he'd ha' summut different to that." From twelve to twenty bakers and provision dealers were visited and similarly treated between seven and ten o'clock; and in most cases the proprietors

followed the example of Mr. Ridgway, and threw out their stock, in order to prevent worse treatment. One man ran raving about, with a piece of bread in his hand, shouting—"This is all I have for a wife and seven children;" and three lads fought over a loaf until a strong man tore them asunder, and gave the prize to the least.

From the departure of the train, with prisoners for Chester, at five, till about eight o'clock, the town was in the hands of the mob; but at eight o'clock, military and police united began again to parade the streets. The police were regularly received with a volley of stones, but wherever the soldiers appeared, the crowd vanished. At half-past eleven, a company of foot soldiers arrived, and marched through the streets with bayonets fixed; and about the same time, another troop of cavalry rode into the town, but their active services were not needed; the rioters kept good hours, and had retired for the night.

During Sunday, the streets were more crowded than ever, but it was with visitors from a distance, who poured in, by road and rail, to spend a holiday in looking at the wrecks of the riot; or perhaps even with the hope of seeing what a real riot was like. But Sunday was a day of rest even to the angry mob and did not add to the mischief; although the reflections of the day do not seem to have wrought much repentance, but rather to have been used in preparing a plan of future operations. The grievance was peculiarly local, affecting the single township of Stalybridge; but on Monday morning, emissaries proceeded to Ashton, Dukinfield, and Hyde, with the avowed intention of turning out the "scholars" at those places. At three of the schools in Stalybridge, most of the usual attendants were present soon after nine o'clock, but from the others there were numerous absentees, and only about eighty, out of one thousand seven hundred, had accepted pay in tickets.

As soon as the schools were opened, a discussion commenced in each of them on the subject of the grievance, and resolutions were passed, almost unanimously, to refuse tickets. A message from the relief committee was delivered, to the effect that tickets were ready for those who choose to receive them, and that those who refused would be referred to the board of guardians. The superintendents and visitors at some of the schools advised the receipt of tickets under protest, so as to give the committee a week for reconsideration,

but this advice was curtly and stoutly rejected. In the course of the forenoon, men from the out districts made their appearance in the streets, and rumours began to spread that desperate measures were in preparation. But all remained quiet till about one o'clock, when a mob presented itself, and began to force the shutters at the shop of a baker named Lowe, who thereupon threw out a large quantity of bread from the upper windows. The soldiers came up and galloped through the crowd, which, instead of dispersing as usual, simply turned from the baker's shop to the landlord of "The Feathers," and there demanded beer, which was supplied to the extent of about fourteen gallons, causing a regular scramble to "sup." Another beershop was similarly treated, when a posse of police came up and were received in the usual manner. But on this occasion they made a stand, and captured two of their assailants, one of whom received a wound on the head with a cutlass. The sight of blood surprised, alarmed, and quieted the mob; and the prisoners were led away without any attempt at rescue. At night, however, they made another venture, and sacked several beershops in the neighbourhood of "The Hydes," forcing the landlords to supply beer to be quarrelled over and fought for by a drunken mob, with whom the least resistance was met by very severe treatment. The inns and beerhouses were ordered by the authorities to be closed at seven o'clock; and soon after nine the military marched through the streets, and then to quarters; and their example was soon followed by the bulk of the crowd, so that at ten o'clock the streets were almost as quiet as on ordinary occasions.

The crowd which went to Ashton consisted of some three hundred men and boys; and, at about eleven o'clock, they made their first stand at the shop of a baker in Old-street, and peremptorily demanded bread, which was at once thrown out to them. At a second shop a similar demand produced the same result. Reinforced by Ashton roughs they helped themselves to some £40 worth of bread and cheese in Market Avenue; then growing luxurious, they visited a grocer in Stamford-street, and got a supply of biscuits, and then to Henry Square, where bread was again thrown to them through the windows. All this was the work of but half-an-hour, and by this time nearly all the shops in town were closed, and the streets filled with people. The authorities of

Ashton were prompt, and two troops of hussars shortly arrived upon the scene, accompanied by the police, with drawn cutlasses. Mr. H. Mason, ex-mayor, and other magistrates came with them, and the ex-mayor, mounting upon the shoulders of two policemen, was received with a hearty cheer. Motioning for silence, he addressed the crowd upon the gross illegality of their conduct, and besought them not to commit any further act of riot. "It's not a riot," a stentorian voice exclaimed; but Mr. Mason repeated that a legal riot had already taken place, and that the only way to avoid the consequences was to disperse peacefully; and he assured them that means would be taken to preserve the peace at all hazards. Shouts here arose of "We'll have bread," and a rush was made to a shop in Cavendish-street, where they helped themselves to provisions. Meanwhile Mr. Mason read the Riot Act. The police followed the crowd and were pelted with stones, when Mr. Mason again rushed to the front, and the stoning slackened for a space; and on a charge being made by the military the immense crowd, including nearly all the roughs of the town and neighbourhood, took to their heels, their iron-shod clogs producing a deafening clatter upon the pavement. A detachment, however, mustered courage to sack the shop of a fishmonger on their way; and amongst these were some girls, who ran off with aprons loaded with oysters. The magistrates lost no time; they immediately swore in a great number of special constables, placarded the town notifying the reading of the Riot Act, and telegraphed to Liverpool for extra police, who arrived the same night.

The mob which went to Dukinfield separated into two bands, and spread over the township. The authorities, however, were on the alert, and here also the Riot Act was promptly read; the police were assembled, and special constables sworn in. Nevertheless, some half-dozen shops were sacked, including the co-operative store, where a large quantity of goods were seized, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to fire the place. At a milkshop all the stock was consumed on the premises; and a beerseller was forced to give them the run of his tap, whilst they helped themselves to the stock of nuts and oranges which filled his window. The police evidently felt themselves no match for the mob, and so made no violent interference, and towards night the crowd dispersed of its own accord.

The mob which went to Hyde called at Newton on the way, and helped themselves to cigars and groceries. When, at two o'clock, they reached Hyde, they numbered about two thousand, and they broke into the shop of a baker, and helped themselves to about a hundred and fifty loaves and some hams and cheeses. The few police who had not been sent to other places rushed manfully forward and locked five of the rioters in the shop, and kept their stand outside for hours; when, with reinforcements, they removed their prisoners amidst the usual salute of a shower of stones. These men, all strangers to the neighbourhood, were taken at once before the magistrates and committed to Chester for trial.

At Stalybridge on Tuesday morning all was quiet, and the shops were opened as usual; the general feeling being that the passions of the people were exhausted, and that all fear of violence was over. How the feeling arose it would be difficult to say, but the appearance of the operatives certainly justified it. Sad-looking groups were collected here and there upon the pavement, talking in undertones of their misfortunes; but the boisterous excitement of the last few days was gone: it had died out in the night most completely; and the men looked like ruined gamesters, who had neither money nor hope left. Three prisoners were under examination at the police court, but the proceedings excited no interest except amongst those immediately concerned, and there were scarcely half a dozen persons besides officials present in court. Towards eleven o'clock, men began to assemble on "the plantation;" and, after some desultory conversation, a chairman was appointed, and a deputation despatched to the mayor, and to the relief committee, to renew the request for money instead of tickets. The mayor recommended them to send a delegate from each of the thirteen schools to the committee, and this course was adopted, and the meeting adjourned till one o'clock for a reply. At the relief committee the deputation were reminded by the mayor of the dangerous position to which they had committed themselves. They were assured that the supremacy of the law would be maintained, and recommended to accept the tickets for the last and present week, and to communicate their complaints formally to the committee. At one o'clock nearly three thousand persons assembled for the reply, and a sadder-looking crowd has seldom

been seen. The chairman took his place, and one of the deputation stated the result of the application, and then appealed to his "fellow scholars" to assist in restoring the peace of the town. Another stated that notwithstanding their visit to the town hall they were just in the same position as before, and that he was convinced that "nowt could be done." The chairman said they had been deceived by some of their own number, who, being appointed a fortnight ago to wait upon the relief committee, had not performed the duty. Several other speeches followed, to the effect that an offer to receive half money and half tickets was rejected by the relief committee; who said they could not forego a resolution which was carried by a majority, and that, in fact, it was no longer a question of tickets or money but of mastership; that the matter was now in the hands of the magistrates, and no step could be taken until peace was restored. The mayor had, however, promised that if they returned to their schools the pay for the present week should not be forfeited. The general opinion was that the mayor and Mr. J. Cheetham, M.P., would take up their cause, and that the ticket system would not last long; and a resolution to return to the schools and accept tickets for the past and present weeks was unanimously adopted. The passing of this resolution removed the gloom from three thousand faces, and there was shaking of hands in the cart which served for a platform and in the crowd below; whilst the chairman congratulated the meeting, saying "Now, my lads, in th' houses o' parliament it's olus a law that th' majority rules; so let it be wi' us. All of you go to your schools, and let no man be missing when th' names are called in th' morning." And then the crowd broke up, amidst shouts of "Hurrah!" "Bravo!" "Th' riot's done," &c. A group of girls who had been at the meeting met some soldiers loitering in the street, and one of them, clapping one of the hussars on the shoulder, said, "Aye, owd chap, thee mit go whoam; th' riot's done."

Although there was an end to the violence at Stalybridge, a mob of from three hundred to four hundred had proceeded to Ashton, intent upon renewing the feats of the previous day; but in this they were sadly disappointed, for the authorities were well prepared. Their approach was telegraphed to the town hall, and a body of police, with a troop of cavalry, headed by the mayor and ex-mayor, marched to meet them. The police were received with a volley of

stones, as usual, some of which did mischief; but this did not stay the advance, and, at the discharge of a second volley of stone ammunition, the police drew their staves and rushed into the mob, dealing some very heavy blows; and the rioters took to their heels, fairly tumbling over each other, and over hedges and ditches made the best of their way, panting, and fairly scared back to Stalybridge.

At about half-past two a mob of about two hundred strong attempted to enter Dukinfield, but they were driven back by the police without any further mishap than a little stone-throwing; and the known determination of the magistrates to keep the peace at all hazards probably helped to prevent further mischief.

In Hyde, in Stockport, and in Oldham, there was considerable excitement amongst the people, and fears were entertained of breaches of the peace, not by the inhabitants themselves, but by mobs, which were announced as coming from Stalybridge; and which would, of course, have been augmented by the offscourings of each place to which they approached. Efficient preparations were made in the several towns by the swearing-in of special constables, whose active services, however, were happily not required. Even in Stalybridge itself the mobs must have included only a minority of the adult scholars, who were the principal sufferers from the ticket grievance, if grievance it was, for the whole of these amounted only to one thousand seven hundred; and whilst a meeting of some three thousand persons was holding on "the plantation," one mob of from two hundred to three hundred was gone to Ashton, and another, of about the same number, to Dukinfield. At the sessions house at Dukinfield seven persons were committed for riot, and at Ashton two were committed on a similar charge. The general opinion expressed by intelligent people was that the exhibition of a little more promptness and firmness by the Stalybridge magistrates would have wholly suppressed the disturbance on the first day, and have prevented it spreading to other towns, and would thus have saved a large amount of property. Certainly the reader of the newspaper reports would conclude that the soldiers and the police were rather present to superintend the riots, as they would a horse-race or any other *fête*, than to suppress or to prevent them—a matter which says more for the benevolence than the discretion of the magistrates.

And now that the danger was nearly over, and the people

reduced to subjection, the evil of two principal sources of relief, which had previously promoted some waste of money, and caused much annoyance, was to be prominently brought out; and the rioters, when beaten, dispirited, and submissive, were to find strong allies in the Mansion House committee. This committee, when first established, contemplated sending its funds to be distributed through a competent committee in Manchester, and this fact, no doubt, had some weight in the formation of the central executive. But for some unexplained reason the plan was not carried out; and local committees, having two sources to look to for supplies, besides their own local funds, had less motive for exertion to collect funds at home, and less reason for practising the stringent economy which the character of the crisis, and the preservation of the independence of the people, and the rules of the central executive all alike demanded.

The rioters at Stalybridge, whilst wilfully destroying the property of their fellow-townsmen and the stores contributed by the benevolence of the whole country for their aid and comfort, being uncertain of a victory at home with the relief committee, despatched an agent to try what could be done in London; and on Wednesday, 25th March, the Mansion House committee held a special meeting "to consider what, if anything, could be done by them in the emergency, and especially in reference to a dispute between the local relief committee and the men." The Rev. Mr. Floyd, of Stalybridge, who had gone specially to London for the purpose, attended the meeting. In reply to Mr. Cubitt, who stated that the ticket system had been forced on the committee to prevent many of the recipients from getting drunk with the money, Mr. Floyd stated that very few, if any, of the men had figured in the police courts for drunkenness; and that the ticket plan was objectionable, because the men considered they would be obliged to spend the whole at particular shops, and that they would not be as available as money for the supply of minor wants. Mr. Floyd, not being a member of the relief committee, might be excused for not knowing that in giving the whole relief in tickets, it was with the understanding that the shopkeepers to whom they were presented should give sevenpence in the shilling in goods, and fivepence change in money, if required; and that, therefore, minor wants, which had the sanction of the wife, were in each case provided for.

As to the fact—if it be a fact—that not many of the men had figured before the magistrates for drunkenness, we know that neither the laxity of the police, nor the quietness of the drunkards would lessen the sufferings of the wives and children; and it is wholly beyond belief that a relief committee, whose only wish was to provide in the best manner for the wants of the people, could have inaugurated such a change, in the face of the excitement manifest as soon as it was spoken of, and which increased from day to day, unless they felt that there was a real necessity for some such measure. And another significant fact that may be mentioned is, that when the tickets were issued, publicans were found who gave money for them, and stuck them like placards in their windows, as if to say to the members of the relief committee, "So you think you have cheated us, do you? Look here; we'll sell drink to the recipients of relief in spite of you." On Mr. Floyd's representation the Mansion House committee voted and sent down £500 to Stalybridge, accompanied by a letter from Mr. Cubitt, recommending a return to money instead of ticket payments, and limiting the distribution of their donation to the money plan. Mr. Cotton, of the Mansion House committee, thought it behoved them to step in as mediators in the emergency, and so endeavour to put an end to the dispute; and the relief committee were told that if they felt any difficulty as to the distribution of the £500, they might hand it over to the Rev. Mr. Floyd and his coadjutors, the Revs. Mr. Hoare and Mr. Bell. Curious mediation, this! The dispute had resolved itself into a question of whether the relief committee or the recipients were to be masters; and the self-elected mediators dictated the submission of the committee; and in case of non-compliance, they set up an opposition, with £500 to fight the battle of the malcontents.

Did not this donation look like a premium for breaking the law, and for wilfully destroying property? The rioters had at last found out that helping themselves would be a losing game, and had concluded to go back to their schools, and submit to the rules of the committee. On Tuesday, they unanimously resolved to go back to their schools; they were advised by their chairman to let no man be absent when the names are called on Wednesday morning; but they had no sooner returned to their allegiance, and resolved to submit unconditionally, than they learned that one of

the great monied committees had entered the lists on their side, and had practically given them the victory. If the Stalybridge committee had silently submitted to this indignity, they must hereafter also have submitted humbly to any conditions which the recipients of relief might please to dictate. They were reduced to a terrible strait. The measure which they had adopted was not carried unanimously amongst themselves; they had now learned the indiscretion of enforcing so great a change imperatively and at once—the magistrates had hardly been equal to the occasion, and for the greater part of a week the town had been at the mercy of a mob composed of excitable youths, and of the rowdies who infest every large population. The giant establishments, which in ordinary times found employment for the people, and created wealth for their proprietors, had not been safe from hour to hour; and now that the proprietors had begun to breathe freely again, and were congratulating themselves upon their restoration of authority, these London magnates, at the request and upon the sole evidence of an excited clergyman, dictated entire submission to the committee, under the threat of setting up an opposition. And if the committee ventured to resist, what a cry would be given to the populace! "You withhold from us £500, sent especially for our immediate use; you may keep the Manchester fund, for that is subject to the ticket nuisance; but this belongs to us in money, and it is robbery to keep it back." It was a common complaint throughout the cotton districts that anybody who wrote "Rev." to his name could get money out of the Mansion House fund, and here was a fair exemplification of the fact. The Mansion House committee knew that Stalybridge had been efficiently supplied with funds by the central executive at Manchester; and if any appeal was to be made against the committee at Stalybridge, surely the central executive was the first court. Mr. Floyd and his coadjutors had seen the proceedings of Friday and Saturday, and might have carried any complaint to Manchester on Monday; but, instead of so doing, they got up a memorial amongst the rioters, and carried it up to London. The Mansion House committee evidently ignored the central executive, and dictated to the local committee at Stalybridge. The local committee were indeed in a strait, and sought their way out by passing a resolution to resign. Had this resolution been carried out, the victory of the malcontents would have

been almost as complete as if they had secured a return to money payments, and riot would have won and worn the laurel, and have become a precedent for future imitation. Of course the leaders in the riots were in high glee at the news from London; they accepted it as they only could accept it, as a declaration of the public opinion of London that "they had been waging a holy war in smashing windows, breaking machinery, and robbing shopkeepers, thousands of whom were not making enough to pay their rents; and who had their books full of bad debts, families to keep, and poor-rates to pay for others, who were not much worse off than themselves.

But a wiser head was at the service of the relief committee. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, accompanied by the honorary secretary of the central executive, and the special commissioner, sat with them during an interview with a deputation of the discontented on Wednesday. Sir James had already effectually remonstrated with the committee about their proposed resignation, and had induced them to rescind the resolution, declaring that if they declined he would himself sit and administer relief by ticket. The deputation asked for payment in money, and relief from school for one day per week, on account of the reduction of fourpence per head in the weekly allowance. The committee could not concede this, but offered to pay one-half in money; but, as the deputation had no authority to make concessions, the interview ended without result. Sir James and Mr. Maclure strenuously advised the committee not to give way, but it is said that the special commissioner stayed behind, and gave contrary advice, thus again perplexing the committee. After the committee, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth and the honorary secretary made their way through the excited crowd to the railway station, and, being suspected of strengthening the local committee in its decision, they were met with sundry unpleasant epithets and an occasional stone; but they pressed on their way, and, except a blow on the shoulder of Mr. Maclure by an old coffee pot, accompanied by an exclamation of "There goes that damned Maclure, wi' his two-shilling kale!" they reached their destination in safety.

On Friday, 27th, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was again at Stalybridge, and addressed the scholars in the town hall. Sir James in the course of his remarks reminded his audience that the operatives of Lancashire had passed through the rigours of

winter with, in many cases, an increase of household comforts; that public munificence had provided more bedding than was common in poor families; and that the health of the people had been preserved. He did not disguise the great hardship of having only just enough for life and health, and the efforts of the whole country to mitigate that hardship was proof that his feeling was general. Especially was this proved by the unwearied attention of the ladies of the middle classes to the wants of the population. Thousands of ladies had devoted their whole time, or a great portion thereof, to the daily attendance upon the sewing schools. A feeling of sympathetic kindness had grown up between these ladies and the wives and daughters of the workmen which would last for life. The central executive committee had a general duty towards the whole population. They had advised relief at the rate of two shillings per head, but at Stalybridge the average had been fivepence per head more than in any other part of the county, except that immediate neighbourhood. The central committee were bound to economise their funds, and to make them last into next winter. They confided entirely in the local committee in all matters of local differences, but they intimated their opinion that the local circumstances of Stalybridge did not justify so wide a departure from the general average. With respect to the substitution of the ticket system for payment in money, he understood that shopkeepers were willing to change these tickets. A deputation of working men had borne witness not only to the accommodating disposition of shopkeepers, but that beerhouse keepers would give a premium in the shape of a glass of beer for them; expecting, doubtless, that the recipients would not be ungrateful. Whatever their grievances, their first duty was a respectful remonstrance or suggestion to the relief committee. The recent destruction of property was in high contrast to the universally-received opinion of the conduct of the unemployed. Had such conduct occurred in September or October last (1862), instead of the £1,200,000 which had been subscribed, Lancashire would not have received £100,000. That act of impatience, of passion, of unreason, was deeply to be deplored, and those concerned in it would reap the harvest in a change of feeling throughout the country. They had done themselves and the working classes of Lancashire a deep and lasting injury. They had given encouragement to those

who were desirous of lessening the political power of the people of this county ; who were anxious to represent it as of no importance to the common weal, but rather as an element of disorder and danger than of security and strength ; and who would contradict the sanguine hope of the friends of the working man, that we had here, based upon increased intelligence, an increasing sense of public duty, respect of property, a stabler condition of society than existed in any other part of the empire. One of the most powerful practical arguments for the extension of the electoral franchise had been the temperate, wise, manly, patient, and intelligent conduct of the Lancashire workpeople. But now, if any man desired an objection to that argument, he would say, "That's a delusion. These men are for the time being quiet, but they cannot resist the pressure of the evils consequent upon dependence. Let them be for a few months dependent on the bounty of the public, reduced to one third of their usual earnings, dissociated from the discipline of the factory—they are like children, they quarrel with the first difficulty they encounter. Being incapable of reasoning, they act with insensate passion, disturb the peace, violate property, rob shops, injure defenceless people, assault the house where a sick woman has since died, and, insensible to the degradation of insulting a woman, they cause loss of life by their violence and their senseless animosity." He was no enemy to the working class, but he was so far their friend as to be determined to speak the truth. The local committee had come to a conclusion which showed their interest in the welfare of the neighbourhood, and out of tenderness, of neighbourly feeling, they sought not an unconditional submission, but offered that one-half the relief should be given in money and the other half in kind. He was glad to say that several of the schools had accepted that offer. Three schools connected with the Church of England had sent in their acceptance ; but he had now before him, what he trusted was by no means a final decision, a note from the central school, saying that "they agreed to be paid three shillings in money after this week, to have one day off in consequence of the fourpence reduction, and to accept no payment by ticket." He earnestly advised them to accept the decision of the committee. The honourable baronet then read an address from the central executive, which was also circulated as a placard. The Rev. Mr. Hilton,

a Roman Catholic priest, then addressed the audience, heartily exorting them to keep the peace, and the meeting separated quietly.

It was also currently reported that orders had been received from London to stop the distribution of the £500 from the Mansion House committee; and this report doubtless had its effect in producing a quiet acquiescence in the decision of the committee. Here is the address of the central executive :—

"THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE RELIEF COMMITTEE AT MANCHESTER.

"To the operatives of Stalybridge and their families.

"We have been entrusted with large funds for the relief of distress, and we are distributing them with every sympathy for your wants, and with every care for your welfare: those funds cannot be claimed by any particular district, but are to be given where we think it best, taking into consideration distress, good behaviour, and local circumstances generally.

"We deplore the disturbances which have recently occurred. We hope they are not shared in by a very large number. If they are continued, we know that there are many elsewhere who will gratefully receive all we can afford them; and the boards of guardians, the ordinary channels of relief, are always open to others.

"We, therefore, appeal to all among you who value our relief, to aid us in our wish to continue it to you. We beg you, consequently, to avoid and discourage meetings which may lead to disturbances, and to assist, to the utmost of your power, the local authorities and others, whose duty is the preservation of order for the good of all.

"We deeply sympathise in your distress: none of us know how long it may last. We must, therefore, be prudent in distributing that relief which the generosity of the public has given, but which disturbance will cause to cease. Unless order is duly preserved, matters must pass from our hands into those of the constituted authorities of the country.—Signed for the committee,

"JAMES P. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, vice-president.
"JOHN WILLIAM MACLURE, honorary secretary."

After the above meeting the various schools again discussed the propriety of accepting the decision of the relief committee;

and in accordance with the advice of their various superintendents, they all agreed : one of them coupling with the resolution, that they did it out of regard to their reverend superintendent, Mr. Bell, and not out of any respect to the relief committee.

At a meeting of the general committee, in Manchester, on Monday, the 30th, the rioters found an apologist in the person of the Rev. Mr. Eagar, of Audenshaw, who hoped the committee would endeavour to remove a feeling of dissatisfaction which was gaining ground, that they were too much disposed to reserve their funds, and were losing faith in the generosity of the public. He also took the liberty of suggesting to all local relief committees the necessity of removing, as far as possible, any ground of complaint from the patiently-enduring class of poor.

To this apology for riot, Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth sharply retorted that "the funds were administered first with a view to supporting the life and health of the distressed population, and the experience of the winter had proved that it could be done at a rate considerably below that which had been given in the Stalybridge district, which district he could not but characterise as notable for the agitation of reverend gentlemen. The remarks of the reverend gentleman were exactly those upon which the late disturbances had been founded, and upon which they were now attempted to be justified." Colonel Wilson Patten reminded the reverend gentleman that whilst some time ago the receipts of the committee were £35,000 per week, they were now reduced to from £4,000 to £5,000 ; and the honorary secretary stated that, instead of the grants of the central executive having decreased, as stated by Mr. Eagar, the grants of the committee, for seven months, had averaged £40,000 per month, whilst the grants for the last month (February) were £50,000. Mr. John Cheetham (now M.P. for Salford)—referring to the late riots—said that in Stalybridge there was a person (understood to be the Rev. J. R. Stephens) who had, for the last few months been seeking publicly to undermine the influence and discredit the exertions of the relief committee. That individual was beneath his contempt ; but when he found gentlemen holding the same position as Mr. Eagar laying upon the relief committee the blame of these disturbances—one of them going up to London and sending down a telegram to his colleague, saying, "The lord mayor has given us £500 ; tickets must not be accepted on any grounds ; placard the

walls if necessary"—he laid at the door of that reverend gentleman the responsibility of what had occurred. He was informed that the deputation appointed some time ago, by the operatives, to wait upon the committee, had been dissuaded from the performance of that duty by the advice of three clergymen.

It thus appeared that a feud between the relief committee and the clergy, if not directly the cause of the riot, at any rate prevented the exercise of the full influence of the reverend gentlemen for its suppression—that, on the contrary, they espoused the cause of the rioters, and sent one of their number to London to secure the adhesion and support of the Mansion House committee. To this miserable feud was mainly owing the great destruction of property and the personal violence, which threatened to destroy the confidence of the whole country in the conduct of the operatives of Lancashire, and which consigned forty-two persons to felons' cells. Who can predict the consequences which would have resulted if the telegram of the ignorant and reverend zealot in London had been placed upon the walls of Stalybridge? No doubt the intention of the Mansion House committee was good, but they were led away by the fervid eloquence of a thorough partizan; and it was due alone to the discretion which confided the £500 to the chairman of the relief committee, instead of the hands of the reverend supplicant, that the passions of the people were not again aroused, and the riot spread with tenfold force of mischief throughout the whole district.

CHAPTER XV.

Action of the Poor-Law Board- Mr. Farnall's Appointment—Debate in the House of Commons—Mr. Villiers's Reply—Messrs. Bright and Cobden on the Distress—The Rate in Aid Bill—Objections to Borrowing Powers—Defects of the Act—Mr. Cobden on the Forty-third of Elizabeth—Tabular Return of the Orders for Aid, and of Sums Borrowed Under the Act—Instructions to the Special Commissioner—His Interpretation of the Poor-law and the Consolidated Orders—Exceptional Conditions Require Exceptional Remedies—Inequality of Rating—The Union Chargeability Bill and its Probable Effects—Policy of Public Works—Mr. Farnall's Failures.

It was reported in semi-official circles, that at a cabinet meeting held in the week ending May 10, 1862, the noble premier told his colleagues that he believed the member for Devonport (Mr. W. B. Ferrand) meant to try to work mischief to the government for their neglect of the distress in Lancashire; and that they must anticipate him, and spoil his game, by sending down a government commissioner at once. It is said that, addressing the secretary of state for the home department, he asked Sir George Grey if he had a proper man at command for the service. Sir George, after thinking over the matter for a few seconds, replied that he could not at the moment name a man for the task. Turning then to the president of the poor-law board, the premier asked Mr. Villiers if he could supply a good man for the purpose, and received a prompt reply that he had at command just the man for the job. "When can he go?" asked the premier; "can he go at once?" Mr. Villiers thought he could; and a note to Mr. Farnall brought back the reply that he could go "to-morrow." Thus the statistical department of the cotton famine fell to the lot of the poor-law board, from the accident that Sir George Grey could not at once fix upon a man for the work.

On the 9th May, the Honourable A. Egerton rose in the House of Commons to put some questions to the president of the poor-law board. He told the house that there were fifty-eight thousand

operatives entirely out of work in Lancashire, and that a much larger number were working only short-time. The last return gave fifteen thousand one hundred and thirty-three on short-time, and seven thousand five hundred and sixty-seven out of work in Manchester alone; seven thousand seven hundred on short-time, and twelve thousand one hundred and five out of work in Preston; and four thousand six hundred entirely out of work in Wigan. The stock of American cotton in Liverpool was one hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty bales, against six hundred and seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and thirty bales at the same period last year. The total stock in Liverpool was three hundred and seventy thousand bales. Of Indian cotton there was at sea two hundred thousand bales, against two hundred and seventy thousand last year. The usual consumption of Great Britain was about forty- five thousand bales per week; and the total stock in the whole of Europe did not exceed seven hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred bales, or about seventeen weeks' supply on half-time. It had been represented that the real object of the deputation, who a short time ago had waited on the president of the poor-law board, was to get aid or relief from the consolidated fund, but nothing could be further from their intention. What they really wished was to know whether the poor-law was well administered in the distressed districts—whether all was being done which could be done by legal means. There was a general feeling amongst the operatives that the poor-law was rather harshly administered—that labour tests were imposed where they ought not to be, and that the rigid rules laid down by the board ought to be relaxed. The question had been mooted in the public papers whether it was necessary that a large scheme of national charity should be started. In his opinion the time had not arrived for that, but he should be glad to hear the president of the poor-law board upon the point. He should, in conclusion, express a hope that the government would turn its attention to the development of the resources of India, which those chiefly interested in the subject held—perhaps selfishly—ought, while they produced for its population manufactured goods, to produce cotton in return.

Mr. E. Potter, M.P. for Carlisle, reminded the house that one-seventh of the population of the country was in some way dependent on the cotton manufacture. The annual returns from the

trade were about £80,000,000; but there was no prospect, for the present, of more than half the usual amount. The crisis affected not only the working classes, but the shopkeepers, and could not be adequately met by any system of public charity. The interests of some six hundred thousand workpeople, receiving some £15,000,000 annually in wages, were at stake.

Mr. Villiers said nobody could be more painfully alive than he was to the extent of the distress, nor was he without daily evidence of its magnitude, or of the generous and noble manner in which it was borne. He had anticipated the distress, and in November, 1861, had issued a circular to all unions dependent on the American trade, exhorting the proper officers to make provision for an unusual amount of distress. The present state was clearly temporary, and even if the distress continued, the resources of the great and wealthy county of Lancaster were more than sufficient to meet all the difficulties arising out of the depression of the trade; and he felt confident that the extremity of want and destitution which had been alluded to did not exist. The ratable value of Lancashire in 1856 was £7,298,000, and the cost of the poor was £455,000. In 1861, the cost of the poor was £429,670. If the expenditure went on at the rate of the last few months it would be £678,000 for the year, or one shilling and tenpence in the pound. In Suffolk, and also in Sheffield, two shillings and sixpence was paid; and that rate would raise in Lancashire £912,318. St. George's in the East and Shoreditch paid three shillings and threepence in the pound; and that rate in Lancashire would raise £1,186,013. In Nottingham, and in the East and West London unions, the rates were three shillings and sixpence; and as much as five shillings was paid in many parishes in the midland, eastern, and southern parts of England; and that rate in Lancashire would produce £1,824,636. He did not mean to deny that in some particular towns the distress was most intense; and in those localities the most vigilant attention was required in the administration of relief. But he had not heard of any place in Lancashire paying more than three shillings in the pound. In Preston the distress was most severe; but upon the whole it might be inferred that where the rates were so low, the contributions of private persons were liberal, and that great exertions were made to provide for the wants of the people. There was no apprehension whatever that the poor-law guardians were

not equal to their position, or that they had not means at their disposal to relieve the poor; but as it had been stated that some misapprehension, however groundless, prevailed, as to the power of the poor-law guardians, and as to the character of the rules and orders under which they acted, the government had thought it right to instruct some persons of experience and judgment to proceed at once to the distressed districts, and to ascertain whether there was any want of information on the part of the guardians, and whether the system on which they acted was strictly legal. These persons being men of experience, would be enabled to do something to bring into harmonious action with the regular authorities all those volunteer bodies who were doing so much good in giving relief. He trusted that this arrangement would produce an useful effect in preventing the waste of funds, and in directing persons anxious to contribute where they should go. In this case the government had been guided by precedent, as when Sir John Walsham was sent to Burnley, where, in conjunction with the board of guardians, he had provided—1st, for an increase of the relieving power; 2nd, for the establishment of relief in kind on an extensive scale; 3rd, for the organisation of out relief and settlement committees in and for each district; 4th, for the organisation of a visiting and finance committee; and, 5th, for the organisation of a labour committee. After the representations which had been made to the poor-law board, he had thought proper to send down an experienced person, who would put himself in communication with the authorities, in order that the best means of relief might be resorted to, and that the government might be kept properly informed.

Mr. Bright, referring to the statement of Mr. Potter, said he should be very thankful for half trade if it could be spread at all equally over the county; but whilst the people of Bolton had whole trade, those of Wigan and Rochdale had not half trade: averages would not, therefore, assist in the consideration of what should be done. And the case must grow worse; for there were thousands of families who had saved a little money, and could go on for a certain time without relief, but the longer the distress continued, the smaller would that class become. Nothing could be sadder than the sight of men who for years past had saved all they could, and performed all the duties of life without reproach,

having their little stores gradually wasted under such a state of things as was now beheld. We could not remove or prevent the evil: the utmost that any person connected with the county or the government could do would be to mitigate it. The guardians were not spending the money of the chancellor of the exchequer, and it would be wisdom to do nothing to check their liberality in the distribution of the resources entrusted to their care. The house would recollect that the money was not collected from men according to their means, but according to the rent of the houses, shops, warehouses, or lands which they occupied. There might be a merchant whose income was £10,000 a year, or whose property might be very large, but whose premises, and whose rates in proportion to his property, would be very small. Rates were collected from the owners of these lands and buildings, but an immense amount of wealth was left untouched by the poor-law, and there should be other assistance than that which the guardians, from the resources of the poor-law, could give. In every town and parish there should be committees who should collect subscriptions; which should not come, like the poor rates, from those who are verging upon distress themselves; but from those who have greater means, and who under the present system do not pay according to their means. In Rochdale there was such a committee, spending £80 or £90 per week, and they had still a few hundreds of pounds in hand. The property of the county was enormous, but there was no rate in aid yet, and he hoped we might never come to such a pass. He would object to any great measures of relief, in the shape of a committee in London or of government interference, which would only add to the pauperism of the district and prove most pernicious; yet if there was any one who was willing to aid an acknowledged distress, let him send quietly whatever he could spare to any one he knew in the district.

Mr. Bright, clear-sighted and forcible upon all subjects which he deals with, seemed to foresee the evils which might arise from the distribution of relief by any committee situate beyond the distressed locality; and whilst he deprecated anything in the shape of government charity, he demanded that the people of Lancashire should be at liberty to act for themselves; and to pledge their future rates, if they thought proper, so as to spread the pressure of the present trouble into more prosperous times, when its repay-

ment would hardly be felt as a burden. He did not value the parental control of the poor-law board, but thought the Lancashire intellect quite able to take care of itself without the leading strings of the officials at Whitehall; and no doubt he was right. The ratepayers in each union know how to get rid of guardians who act against the public interest; and the slight amount of excitement and turmoil which attends an election of guardians is tolerable proof that, upon the whole, the poor-law is well administered. Neither Mr. Villiers, who talked about what a five-shilling county rate would produce, but did not propose to legalise county rating for the relief of the poor; Mr. A. Egerton, who thought the time had not come for a large scheme of national charity; nor even Mr. Bright, who trusted that we should not come to a rate in aid, had any conception of the dire amount of distress which would have to be borne, nor of the amount of help which would be needed to enable the operatives to pass through the calamity. The Mansion House committee was already in existence, and the general committee at Manchester was organised a few days later; and before the rising of parliament the Union Rate in Aid Act became law, and included borrowing powers to boards of guardians, very much against the wishes of the poor-law board.

The government was very slow to recognise that the state of affairs in Lancashire was wholly exceptional, and to be met only by exceptional legislation. Every question put in the House of Commons was either made light of by a discussion upon the doctrine of averages, or the case was attempted to be dealt with according to precedent. When, in July, 1862, Mr. J. T. Hibbert, the member for Oldham, asked the government to introduce a measure enabling boards of guardians to raise the sums required for the existing exigency by means of loans, and spreading the repayment over seven years, the reply was that the government proposed to resuscitate the old plan of rates in aid. The request was that the different parishes and townships should be enabled to bear each its own burden and maintain its independence; the reply was that independence was to be sacrificed and ill-feeling generated by a power to charge the excessive expenditure, perhaps the extravagance, of one parish or union upon its neighbours. If the reply had been that the government had come to the conclusion that a wider area of rating

was desirable in permanence, and that a poor-law amendment act would be introduced to legalize union, county, or even national rating, it would have been seen that there was a principle for discussion and for serious consideration, if not for adoption. And if power had been given in the meantime to boards of guardians, with the sanction of the poor-law board, to borrow any sum not exceeding the amount levied during the previous five years, and extending the repayment over fourteen years, the guardians of the poor throughout the distressed districts would have felt strengthened in their arduous task, and would have been able to find useful labour for a large proportion of the able-bodied dependants on the rates. Every speaker from Lancashire was in favour of borrowing powers, whilst Mr. Bovill objected to the Rate in Aid Bill *in toto*, as calculated to undermine general confidence in the stability of the permanent law; and Mr. Henley preferred a rate in aid to borrowing, because it was in accordance with the Forty-third of Elizabeth. It is not difficult to conceive that men whose conservatism seems to consist of a graduated reverence for institutions according to their ages would, if they had the chance, object to the use of the power-loom or the self-acting mule, as Mr. Henley did to the borrowing clause "because it was an innovation." Mr. Cobden said that, however well the Forty-third of Elizabeth might be adapted to Oxfordshire, it would be found very ill adapted to the condition of Rochdale. An attempt to equalise the rates of a parish which had usually paid one shilling, but where the factories were now stopped, with another which paid four shillings, whilst the people were in employment, was out of the question; they might as well go back to the legislation of the Romans as to the Forty-third of Elizabeth. A vast number of the operatives lived in their own houses, built by means of benefit societies, which parliament had promoted and fostered. These cottages had been largely built with borrowed money, and if the owners, at the very time when they had lost their income from wages, should be called on to pay an extra poor rate on their houses in addition to interest on mortgages, the whole of the property must be transferred from these poor people to other hands. If parliament believed the present unnatural paralysis was more likely to be temporary than permanent, and if they hoped that in six or twelve months it would come to an end, would it not be better, acknowledging that

the present state of things was exceptional, to tide over that period by borrowing on the security of future rates? He was opposed to borrowing money on the security of rates in ordinary circumstances; but no person who realised the condition of affairs in the cotton districts, could object to the inhabitants taking the course which they thought most advantageous to themselves. We boast of our powers of self and local government, and if there be one subject upon which more than another the people may be safely trusted, it is the subject of taxation: and it is quite certain that any great extravagance in the manufacturing districts, either by corporations or boards of guardians would be very speedily checked and controlled. The poor-law does not allow overseers to get a parish into debt, and, in order to act effectively, makes any such debt the personal debt of the overseers. The Rate in Aid Act was professedly a provision against great inequality of rates in adjoining parishes, and it also professed to give relief by spreading excessive expenditure over a series of years. But the borrowing power given was confined to the excess of expenditure between three shillings and five shillings in the pound; and obliged either the excessive rate which it professed to remedy to have been already levied and expended, or forced the overseers to break the law by getting into debt, before they could avail themselves of its provisions. Thus unions whose dependants were increasing by thousands weekly, and whose expenditure was rising in a ratio sufficient to make the strongest nerves tremble, were obliged either to levy additional rates upon unproductive property, and upon ruined shopkeepers, or to spend the money which the law authorised them to borrow, long before they could get hold of it. Such was the Tantalus cup presented by the government to the unions of Lancashire.

The act, as first passed in 1862, enabled the guardians of any union, where any parish in the union had spent in the quarters ending at Michaelmas or Christmas, 1862, more than ninepence in the pound upon the assessment, to charge the excess upon the other parishes in the same union according to their ratable value. If the expenditure of the whole union had exceeded ninepence in the pound for the quarter, then the guardians of the union were empowered to borrow the amount of the excess upon the security of future rates, to be repaid within seven years. And if any union had exceeded one shilling and threepence in the pound, the poor-

law board might, on application, call upon the several unions in the same county, whose expenditure had not exceeded ninepence in the pound, to contribute according to their ratable value towards such excess. The operation of the act was limited to Christmas, 1862.

In March, 1863, the act was renewed till Midsummer, with the following alterations:—The time for repayment of loans was extended from seven to fourteen years; any union requiring the rate in aid, if situate in two counties, to be aided from both counties, according to the ratable value of the part of the union situate within each of the counties called upon; the power to borrow was extended to overseers under separate boards of guardians; and the time for issuing orders was limited to 1st September, 1863. In July of the same year, the act was again extended to Christmas, 1863; but the necessary expenditure of unions applying to other unions for aid, was raised from one shilling and threepence to one shilling and sevenpence half-penny for the quarter; and power was given to the Public Works Loan Commissioners to advance any sum not exceeding two hundred thousand pounds on the security of the borrowing unions.

Upon the propriety of this act the central executive declined to express an opinion; their object being to keep as many persons as possible away from the boards of guardians, whilst the Rate in Aid Act provided only for those who were already paupers, and was in fact a sort of tentative effort towards union rating—a question which was often and keenly debated, but the propriety of which had never been satisfactorily settled. And in the central committee, as elsewhere, there were considerable differences of opinion upon the subject. About the propriety of the borrowing powers there was unanimous agreement; and if fuller liberty had been given to the guardians in that respect, the act would have been much more welcome. The borrowing clause, however, did not originate with the government, and was keenly contested when proposed, and with difficulty carried against the administration; but the local opinion may be very well understood from the fact that twenty-one Lancashire members voted in its favour, and only six against it. At the meeting held 16th December, 1862, Mr. Farnall spoke of the "valuable provisions of the act," as having enabled the Blackburn union to borrow £3,517, being the amount spent in excess of ninepence in the pound up to Michaelmas.

Mr. Hugh Mason took exception to this word "valuable," and said that although at Ashton-under-Lyne they were then submitting to a crushing expenditure, they would have to continue without relief till the middle of January, because they had to average the high expenditure at the end with the low expenditure at the beginning of the quarter. He also pointed out another defect. The act provided for the union needing aid, to go to the county in which the larger portion of the union was situate. Now the larger territorial portion of Ashton was in Cheshire; but the larger portion of the population and property were in Lancashire. To which county must they apply? Mr. R. H. Hutchinson, ex-mayor of Blackburn, also complained that whilst it was true that they had borrowed money under the act on the 29th September, they had not received authority to borrow until early in December.

The borrowing powers of the act were made use of as follows, up to March, 1864:—

	£
Ashton-under Lyne	31,328
Blackburn	5,000
Glossop	6,650
Haslingden	2,600
Preston	28,921
Rochdale	5,659
More recent orders to various places, to March, 1865	6,662
Total	£86,820

And orders for aid were made upon various unions in favour of the following places, viz.:—

	£	s.	d.
Ashton-under-Lyne	7,000	18	8
Glossop	4,554	0	0
Preston	10,844	0	0
Total	£22,398	18	8

And it is a singular commentary upon the infelicity of the act that Wigan, where the distress and the local subscription were not very much less in proportion to the population than at Preston, had, as a punishment for its efforts to keep people off the rates, to pay a rate in aid to Preston.

The speech of the president of the poor-law board on 9th May, whilst exhibiting very good feeling and a desire to be of use to Lancashire, was yet inconsistent and unsatisfactory. He spoke of

the distress as evidently temporary, and of the wealth of Lancashire as quite capable of bearing it, even if of long continuance; which would have been a very good argument, provided county rating could have been resorted to to sustain the poor. He pointed to the comparatively low union expenditure even of the most distressed towns; that expenditure referring necessarily to the very commencement of severe distress, whilst the increase of paupers was at that time reckoned by many thousands per month, and the union expenditure was rapidly rising; tens of thousands of people also were kept away from the guardians by the consumption of their own small savings, and the funds of their trades societies; by sales of furniture and trinkets; and by the aid afforded from public subscriptions through relief committees. He stated that there was no apprehension whatever that the poor-law guardians were not equal to their position, or that their means were inadequate; yet the government had sent down a special commissioner to ascertain if there was any want of information on the part of the guardians, and whether the system on which they acted was strictly legal.

Mr. Farnall, the special commissioner, was instructed (May 12th) to make inquiry into the operation of the poor-law and the orders of the poor-law board at the present time, and on the condition and habits of the workpeople. He was to communicate personally with all authorities and special organisations for administering relief and succour to the poor; to interpret and define the true spirit and breadth of the poor-law; to create and sustain harmony between the guardians and the relief committees, and to promote judicious action; to examine the manner of relief; to find out what labour was required of the operatives, and to suggest the most suitable forms of employment. A wide task, certainly, and more than usually difficult for Mr. Farnall, unless he could manage to forget the experience which Mr. Villiers quoted as his special qualification, namely, that he had formerly spent some years in the district. Mr. A. Egerton complained, on the part of the operatives, that test labour was unnecessarily imposed, and asked that the rigid rules of the poor-law board should be relaxed; and the task of Mr. Farnall was now to show the flexibility of rules, the rigidity of whose application was in a great degree due to his own former work. It is quite true that the prohibitory order, which precludes

boards of guardians from giving relief to able-bodied persons except in the workhouse, has never been applied to the manufacturing districts, but the general advice of the poor-law board has always been to make free use of the workhouse test. Mr. Farnall, as special commissioner, told the Preston guardians that, in an experience of twenty-seven years as an *ex-officio* guardian, he had never known a board require a poor person to sell his or her furniture. No one will doubt the truth of the assertion, nor will such a credence at all affect the thousands of instances where the deserving poor relinquish relief rather than break up their homes to go into "the house;" for how is a poor man or woman to accept a workhouse order and not break up home? We do not question the wisdom of the workhouse test in ordinary times and with ordinary paupers; and if Mr. Farnall, instead of implying that boards of guardians were ignorant of their duties, had simply said, "these are exceptional circumstances, and must be met with exceptional measures," he would have made friends amongst the guardians as well as amongst the poor. But instead of this course, he gave instructions the very contrary of the spirit of the consolidated orders; by urging increased allowances, denying that the poor-law required test labour, and recommending the work which was best adapted to the people; and all this, as he affirmed, under the authority of the poor-law; whilst every reader of the reports of the poor-law commissioners knows that, in the manufacturing districts, where the prohibitory order does not apply, unpleasant test work has been always strongly recommended.

In a circular letter, issued in 1836, upon this subject, the poor-law board said "that the best form of out-door labour at task work for the parish, however well devised and enforced, is but secondary to the application of the workhouse system, and can only be sanctioned as a palliative for a time. * * * The work to be provided for paupers should be of a laborious and undesirable nature in itself, and the remuneration should be less than would be paid for work of equal quantity if performed by independent labourers. * * * The most usual mode of setting able-bodied paupers to work is in the repair of the roads, or in the preparation of materials for that purpose. * * * Much of the labour on the roads is defective as a test of pauperism, in consequence of the difficulty of ascertaining the quantity

performed, and of ascertaining its performance; and it has been found better in most cases to confine the paupers solely to the preparation of road materials in a yard or other enclosure set apart for the purpose." Here is the odious stone-yard test, to which the operatives so strongly object. And there is also a proposal to pay according to the quantity of work done, which, if carried out in practice, would give to many heads of pauper families from twopence to sixpence per week.

In 1840 the poor-law board reprinted from a blue-book the evidence of Mr. John Ashworth, junior, on the distress in 1826 at Darwen, for the purpose of showing the great importance of a labour test, and of relief in kind. Mr. Ashworth states that the weavers were so generally out of employ, that a large subscription was got up; and relief was at first given in money, which, being found ineffectual, they resorted to provisions, and then ultimately found work for the people at road-mending, stone-quarrying, reservoir-making, &c. Of thirty or forty men sent on a given day to the stone quarry, only six or seven remained till wages time (five o'clock in the afternoon).

In 1849 the poor-law board indicated a dislike to remunerative labour. The manufacturing districts were greatly distressed in 1847-8, and the board issued the order requiring task work in return for relief to the unions where the prohibitory order was not in force; and in reference to it they say: "The existence of the order has induced many boards of guardians to endeavour to provide the means of supplying employment to labourers who require relief on account of their being out of work, by purchasing or hiring some portions of land contiguous to the workhouse for cultivation. To a certain extent this has, in a few instances, been sanctioned; but the board have not been prepared to assent, as a general proposition, to the guardians engaging in any considerable undertakings of a farming character, which appear to the board to be open to serious objection."

And in 1852 the board issued a general order, not only requiring work in every able-bodied case, but retaining also a veto power over the kind of work to be supplied. They say (Article 6): "Every able-bodied male person, if relieved out of the workhouse, shall be set to work by the guardians, and be kept employed under their direction and superintendence so long as he receives relief."

Article 8: "The guardians shall, within thirty days after they shall have proceeded to act in execution of Article 6, report to the poor-law board the place or places at which able-bodied male paupers shall be set to work, and the provision made for superintending them while working; and shall forthwith discontinue or alter the same, if the poor-law board should so require." Article 5 prohibits the relief of able-bodied persons whilst employed for wages. But this order was found so unworkable that in a few months it had to be modified so as to allow guardians, where a person worked one or more days per week, and still needed relief, to consider the relief as for the days when the recipient would be out of work. Guardians were also allowed to break through all the articles of this order (except Article 3) on condition of reporting within fifteen days the case, and the grounds of action; and if not then disallowed by the board, they might continue so to act.

It is abundantly clear that, whilst the provisions of the poor-law are sufficient for all ordinary cases of pauperism, and for all ordinary times, yet when, according to the language of the commissioners, the workhouse would be "swamped" by a class whom only the direst necessity would drive to the board, very different arrangements are required; for it is equally beneficial to the recipients of relief and to the country that they should be saved from degradation in their own eyes. The special commissioner for the cotton famine would need rather to forget than to remember the experience of Mr. Farnall, the poor-law inspector, in order to be of real service; and in recommending boards of guardians whilst distributing relief to take no account of the supplementing by employers or relief committees, and in preferring the sewing and adult school test to the stone yard, to oakum picking, and logwood grinding, he did manage so to forget himself. Other people, however, were not so oblivious; but when they found out what very different sermons could be preached by the same man from the same text, they held up their hands in astonishment. Nevertheless, in this respect Mr. Farnall did good work, by giving the authority of the poor-law board to the wishes of the central executive; by raising the weekly allowance, and aiding an organisation which would otherwise have been more difficult, if not impossible. The reports of Mr. Commissioner Farnall are upon the whole very valuable documents, and will serve as references for

many years to come; for, although they contain much less matter than the reports of the honorary secretary, and go sadly astray when they deal with politico-economic problems, or attempt to foretell future events, yet their facts are incontrovertible; and being communicated by an official specially deputed by the government, they doubtless commanded more attention than any merely unofficial documents could have done; and they have already borne fruit in the Union Chargeability Act.

The pressure of distress, and consequently of the rates, was most unequal, and the general effect of the relief funds was to equalise in some degree the burden of the ratepayers, by granting help according to the needs of the different localities.

The average rate levied throughout the cotton districts in the poor-law year ending Lady-day, 1861, was 1s. 0⅜d. in the pound upon the assessment, and the variation was from 7⅜d. at Prestwich, a semi-rural union adjoining Manchester, to 1s. 3½d. at Skipton, on the borders of Yorkshire. The effect of the short supply of cotton began to be felt in the last quarter of 1861, and by Lady-day, 1862, it had shown itself in the poor-rates by raising the average from 1s. 0⅜d. to 1s. 2¼d., the variation being from 8½d. in Prestwich to 1s. 4½d. in Manchester. In the course of the year 1862 the means of the workmen were exhausted, their little hoards were gone, and the savings banks had been drawn upon to the full extent of the operatives' deposits; the trades and friendly societies had contributed to the necessities of their unemployed members to the exhaustion of their contingent funds, and a large amount of capital had been drawn out of co-operative stores; so that the trouble had become wide-spread and deep, and could no longer be silently borne. The great heart of the British public had been appealed to, and had nobly responded; the voice of mourning had reached across the great waters, and help had come from Australia, and from India; and even the people of the Northern States of America, in the midst of their own death struggle, had found opportunity to send several ship-loads of food to the starving operatives of the "old country." In the year ending Lady-day, 1863, the average poor-rate had risen to 2s. 9¾d., the variation being from 1s. 3¼d. at Barton-upon-Irwell, a rural union near Manchester, to 4s. 10⅝d. at Glossop, and to these amounts the relief committees had added an average of 2s. 8⅓d., varying from

1s. 0⅜d. at Garstang to 8s. 8¼d. at Ashton-under-Lyne, Glossop receiving at the rate of 6s. 6⅜d.; so that the total relief at Ashton was at the rate of 12s. 10⅞d., and at Glossop 10s. 9⅝d. for the whole year. What a practical commentary was here upon the speech of the president of the poor-law board, and the sufficiency of the county of Lancaster to bear permanently the burden of the cotton famine!

But this statement does not fully display the inequality of rating; for there are generally many townships in an union, and the extremes of rating would often be found in the different townships of the same union. The average rate throughout the cotton districts, in ordinary times, is about one shilling in the pound on the assessment; the average in the heaviest year of the distress, and including the contributions of relief committees, was 5s. 5⅞d., or an increase of about 410 per cent. Large as was the increase of indigence, it could have been borne for a year if the burden had been equally spread; but whilst the expenditure in the Ashton union was at the rate of 13s. 10½d.; Glossop, 11s. 5d.; Preston, 9s. 2d.; Blackburn, 9s. 1⅞d.; Stockport, 8s. 8¾d.; Haslingden, 7s. 7⅜d.; Oldham, 7s. 3d.; and Rochdale, 6s. 6½d.; at Leigh the whole cost was 2s. 2d.; at Lancaster, 1s. 9⅞d.; and at Garstang, 1s. 7¾d.; and it is quite possible that the contrast was not much less in some places between the different townships of the same union. These facts evidently point to something broader than even union rating for an efficient provision, under the poor law, against any future widespread calamity, such as the cotton famine. It is common for the wealthy men of a locality to reside beyond the boundaries of the poor-law union in which their manufactories or warehouses are situate, and where the workpeople must needs live. Thus many of the rich men of Manchester either reside in the rural townships of the Chorlton union, or in the unions of Prestwich or Barton-on-Irwell; many of them go to Bowdon, to Alderley, or to Lymm; and some few reside principally in Wales;—none of which places could, under the old law, be much affected by any trading calamity. The whole of the calculations of the president of the poor-law board, when he replied to Mr. A. Egerton, in May, 1862, were based upon the assessment of Lancashire, where 5s. in the pound would raise £1,824,636; so that if county rating could have been resorted to, an extra rate of about 2s. 2d. in the pound, per annum,

would have covered the whole extra outlay which was made by guardians and relief committees, up to the end of 1864. This statement illustrates at once the power of an extended area to meet great and unforeseen difficulties, and the fallacy of trying to reason down the existence of distress by showing how an extended area of rating would provide for it, when that area is not available for the purpose. And if county rating be so valuable, why not go still further, and make the rating national, so that the same collectors could officiate for the central government and for boards of guardians, and at the same time get rid of all the trouble and expense incurred in the administration of the law of settlements? If we had a national rate, the poor might be left, like the rich, to settle wherever it pleased them to go; for they would no longer burden a particular locality upon which they had no legal claim; and there would be no reason for union after union trying to get rid of them.

The Union Chargeability Bill, passed in the session of 1865, is a step in the right direction, and shows that the president of the poor-law board, although a timid, has not been a dull scholar; but has apprehended the real teaching of the cotton famine. If the Union Chargeability Bill had been in force in 1861, it would have sufficed to meet the distress in many of the cotton manufacturing unions. The pressure would still have been very severe at the following places, where the extra expenditure of guardians and relief committees for three years during the famine, exclusive of the cost of in-door maintenance for 1864-5, was—

Ashton-under-Lyne	30s. 9d.	in the pound	on the	assessment.
Blackburn . .	18s. 1d.	,,	,,	,,
Glossop . .	32s. 6d.	,,	,,	,,
Haslingden . .	15s. 2d.	,,	,,	,,
Preston . .	20s. 0⅝d.	,,	,,	,,
Stockport . .	22s. 8d.	,,	,,	,,

The inequality of pressure, under the old law, may be judged of by the following returns from the unions of Chorlton-upon-Medlock and Prestwich, the first of which includes a considerable, and the second a small portion of the borough of Manchester:—

CHORLTON UNION.

RATES LEVIED IN THE YEARS 1861-4.

Name of Township	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	Total.	Average.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
*Ardwick	2 8	3 0	5 4	5 0	16 0	4 0
Burnage	1 9	2 3	4 6	2 6	11 0	2 9
*Chorlton-on-Medlock	2 6	2 4	5 0	4 10	14 8	3 8
Chorlton-cum-Hardy	1 6	2 0	5 0	none	8 6	2 1½
Didsbury	1 6	1 6	4 0	2 6	9 6	2 4½
Gorton	1 4	1 8	3 0	2 0	8 0	2 0
*Hulme	3 0	2 0	6 2	4 0	15 2	3 9½
Levenshulme	1 0	2 3	2 6	2 0	7 9	1 11¼
Moss Side	0 8	2 0	2 6	1 0	6 2	1 6¼
Openshaw	1 4	1 4	1 4	1 8	5 8	1 2
Rusholme	1 0	1 6	4 6	2 6	9 6	2 4½
Withington	1 0	1 4	4 0	2 0	8 4	2 1
PRESTWICH UNION.						
*Blackley	2 6	4 8	2 4	1 0	10 6	2 7½
Bradford	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 6	4 6	1 1½
*Beswick	2 0	4 4	5 2	4 2	15 8	3 11
Cheetham	1 9	2 4	2 8	2 8	9 5	2 4¼
Crumpsall	0 11	1 9	2 0	1 0	5 8	1 5
Failsworth	1 8	4 4	2 8	none	8 8	2 2
Harpurhey	0 9	2 0	1 6	1 0	5 3	1 3½
Heaton Great	1 0	2 10	1 8	1 0	6 6	1 7½
Heaton Little	2 6	2 0	3 0	none	7 6	1 10½
Moston	2 0	2 0	2 0	1 8	7 8	1 11
Newton	1 0	1 6	2 0	2 0	6 6	1 7½
Prestwich	1 6	4 6	none	none	6 0	1 6

* These townships received also large sums through the relief committees.

The operation of the Union Chargeability Act will be to charge the poor-rate upon the latest assessment, and to levy equal rates throughout an union, so far as the cost of the poor are concerned, leaving to each township its own extraordinary expenditure, and leaving the inequalities between union and union as before.

One fault, and one only, could be found against leaving a heavy calamity to be provided for out of a properly apportioned poor-rate, namely, that it would promote permanent pauperism. For persons who are unable to provide for themselves by working, and who are without friends—for those who are able, but unwilling to work, and who prefer a vagabond to an industrious life—and for the slaves to vicious habits, the poor-law, with its varying provisions for different cases, is sufficient; but for prudent, well-conducted, and industrious people, who would prefer to work their fingers to the

bone, rather than eat the bread of idleness; and who are simply overwhelmed by misfortunes which are as far beyond their own power as the fall of an avalanche or the crash of an earthquake; it is open to grave doubt whether it is wise to oblige them to hang about the workhouse doors, in company with habitual paupers; to be first shocked by the hated companionship, then jeered at for their pride, then encouraged to demand relief as a right. Under such treatment men soon lose the feeling of shame at having to pass the board, and learn gradually to feel themselves insulted by being set to unproductive labour, and to proportion their exertions to the relief given in exchange; until eventually idleness becomes habitual, and cheating the overlooker a matter of pride. But if, in addition to the adoption of county or national rating, the Public Works Act could be rendered a permanent institution, and the public works loan commissioners have a permanent fund at their disposal for loans to distressed localities, to be expended on approved public works, so that honest and industrious operatives could at once be set to work for wages; then the independence of the people would be maintained, the poor-rates economised, and the health of the workmen improved. Under this act, if a trade fell into permanent decay, the way of the operatives would be smoothed to a new and permanent occupation, and they would be at the same time rendered fit for emigration; so that such of them as preferred to try colonial life, might leave the old country with a certainty of finding the means for a comfortable livelihood abroad. In the cotton crisis the depth of the distress was passed before the act could be got into operation; so that in some places ordinary labourers were obliged to be employed, where, if the means had been supplied a year earlier, cotton operatives would have done the work; whilst in others the work was let to contractors, whose interest it was to get the job done as quickly as possible, and who did not therefore care to be troubled with unskilled labourers. Of course the application of such a fund would need to be restricted to localities which were suffering from extraordinary causes, and the security of the rates ought in every case to be taken for repayment of the principal and interest. Under such conditions, government money lent for a term of years at three and a half per cent ought, with proper management, to leave a margin of profit for the investment, and to promote at once the health

the wealth, and the morality of the people. To prevent the misuse of the money, or its being even lent in unnecessary cases, the application might first be sent to the lords of the treasury, who would decide whether the necessity was sufficiently pressing; then the government engineer might be required to report upon the utility of the works proposed, and to what extent they would employ unskilled labour; and, in case of a favourable report, an order in council might issue to the loan commissioners, who would take charge of the financial operation, and who ought to report annually to parliament. Such an arrangement would enable any future crisis to be met and grappled with at once, without resort to any extraordinary organisation or agitation; and at a cost to the distressed places which, being spread over a series of prosperous years, would scarcely be felt. In the House of Commons, union rating was opposed, on the ground that it would lead to increase of expense, and that it was sought in order to sacrifice the country to the town parishes.

In reference to the first charge, it may be stated that at Docking, in Norfolk, union rating has existed since 1849. In the three years preceding 1849 the average expenditure on relief was £9,828. In the three years 1856-7-8 it was £8,773, being a decrease of 10·73 per cent; whilst, in the seven unions nearest to Docking, the decrease during the same period was only 1·82 per cent. On the subject of sacrificing the country to the town parishes, every intelligent man who is acquainted with rural districts can point out parishes in which, for half a century past, the process of demolishing labourers' cottages has gone on, without any re-building, and has become a nuisance which calls loudly for remedy; and the Union Chargeability Bill, by rendering such transactions unprofitable, will effectually stop the practice; for a little rent will be better than none, when the sacrifice of rent ceases to save the rates. In this measure Mr. Villiers was wise, for he at once abolished a cruel nuisance, and provided to a small extent against local calamity. It is a small step, but government establishments are difficult to move. Let us hope that, now the inertia is to some extent overcome, the matter will not be allowed to rest until something more has been accomplished.

At the meeting of the central executive, held 20th June, 1865, Mr. Farnall stated that, in accordance with instructions from the

poor-law board, his connection, as special commissioner in connection with this district, would cease, and that this would be the last meeting of the committee at which he would have the opportunity of being present. He expressed the satisfaction he had experienced in co-operating with a body that had so ably discharged the important public trust committed to its care. The central executive then recorded the following resolutions :—

"That this committee desires to record its sense of the very cordial manner in which the Right Honourable C. P. Villiers, the president of the poor-law board, has, from the commencement of its labours, promoted the co-operation of the boards of guardians of the cotton districts with the local committees. It would in particular acknowledge Mr. Villiers's appointment of Mr. Farnall as special commissioner, and his success in promoting harmony between the various relief committees and public works boards. This committee further desires to express its conviction of the important influence of the Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act, carried through parliament by Mr. Villiers, in providing employment, and of the skill with which that act has been carried into execution by Mr. Rawlinson and the officers who have acted under him. This committee wishes to give public expression to its conviction that the advantages derived from the Public Works Act cannot be measured by the amount of employment provided, but that its indirect influence on the discipline of labour and as a stimulus to the profitable application of capital have exceeded the more direct, and therefore more apparent, benefits derived from it. It desires, likewise, to convey its acknowledgments to Mr. Villiers for the readiness with which he assented to its request, that he would place at its disposal the services of the two inspectors, who have materially promoted, by their reports, the economical administration of the relief fund.

"The committee desires to record the expression of its thanks to Mr. Farnall, for the persevering attention which he has given to its deliberations, for the amenity with which he has mingled in them, and for the promptitude and skill with which he has on all occasions aided the committee.

"To Mr. Rawlinson the committee wishes to convey its conviction that the general adoption and successful operation of the Public Works Act have been greatly promoted by the confidence which the local boards have felt in his sincerity, experience, and skill."

Mr. Farnall and Mr. Rawlinson briefly returned thanks, the latter gentleman observing that, if his life should be spared so long, he hoped to see the public works in this district completed as successfully as such operations could possibly be, that Lancashire might not only have received relief from them in her great distress, but that she might receive permanent sanitary benefit. The conduct of these works might afford an administrative precedent in the relief of similar future distress, as well as a lasting stimulus to municipal improvements.

On the motion of Mr. Ross, it was then resolved—"That this committee at its rising adjourn *sine die*, subject to the summons of the chairman, vice-chairman, and honorary secretary."

Thus, quietly and unobtrusively, ended the official connection between the poor-law board and the central executive. In the vote of thanks to Mr. Villiers there is not a word too much of praise; for when once convinced of the gravity of the crisis, he lent a willing ear to the committee and gave a ready compliance to all their suggestions, and aided them by every means in his power. To the skill of Mr. Rawlinson the whole country testifies: his assiduity and kindness have been experienced by all who have come in contact with him. Even the error of certifying for so large a proportion of the loan for Manchester, where only a small proportion of skilled labour could be employed, no doubt arose from his desire to get the act speedily into operation.

We have already expressed the conviction that the appointment of Mr. Farnall was a mistake. He was not popular when regularly employed in the district, and has not much improved his position by his special services. We believe that it is a departure from the rule generally observed at the poor-law board to supersede an official except for incompetence; and those who have come in contact with Mr. Farnall and his successor as poor-law inspectors will certainly not vote the late Mr. Mainwaring incompetent. But the appointment of Mr. Farnall as special commissioner implied incompetence and ignorance on the part of Mr. Mainwaring; for it is the regular duty of a poor-law inspector to do all which Mr. Farnall was charged with, except the promotion of harmony between guardians and relief committees, and the preparation of special reports.

The minute book of the central executive shows that on the

1st September, 1862, Mr. Farnall was "requested to write to the relief committees, or other sources of information in the distressed districts, requesting them to give him a report for the use of the central relief committee, as to the amount of subscriptions raised in their respective localities, and the supposed amount of aid privately given by manufacturers in such localities. Also the number of hands fully employed, partially employed, or unemployed, and the weekly loss of wages sustained; and further as to the forms of work employed by the said committees." We suppose the honorary secretary thought this resolution trenched a little on his domain; for the result was that two reports were presented, and the committee, having to decide between them, adopted the one by Mr. Maclure on its merits; and thus originated the systematic and detailed statistics which were afterwards regularly furnished.

On the 8th September, 1862, Mr. Farnall was "requested to visit Ashton and Hurst, and by personal communication to induce the committees at these places to co-operate; which request Mr. Farnall accepted, as he considered it part of his duty to government." The tone of this "minute" looks as if some request had been made to Mr. Farnall which he had not accepted, and indicates a want of thorough harmony between him and the committee; and although the minutes of the next week show that communications with Ashton and Hurst were left in Mr. Farnall's hands, yet there existed up to the end of the crisis a separate committee at Hurst, which was receiving aid from the Mansion House fund; nor was the matter out of Mr. Farnall's hands on the 8th September, 1863, for he then "read a report upon Hurst."

January 5, 1863: A correspondence was read between Messrs. Birley and Co., spinners and manufacturers, and the guardians of the Chorlton union; showing that Messrs. Birley were desirous to continue to supplement the union relief to persons who had formerly worked for them, if the guardians would consent not to lessen the union allowance in consequence thereof; and "Mr. Farnall was deputed to bring about an accommodation of the dispute." This was a case peculiarly his own; for he had already, in various published speeches, recommended guardians not to take account of any supplementing, by relief committees or other persons, to the allowance of those who were suffering from the cotton famine. This

mission failed, and Messrs. Birley ceased to relieve their own workpeople, and left them entirely to the guardians and relief committees.

March 16, 1863 : A letter was read from the Dukinfield committee, announcing their intention to discontinue, and Mr. Farnall was requested to make inquiry as to the proceedings and expenditure of the committee ; and as the grants to Dukinfield were continued, this undertaking was no doubt a success.

In the chapter on the Stalybridge riots, it is shown that a dangerous difference of opinion existed between Mr. Farnall and the vice-chairman of the central executive, on the question of conceding the demands of the rioters ; and on March 23rd, 1863, Mr. Farnall reported on the disturbance at Stalybridge, and intimated to the committee that he would make another visit in his official capacity as government commissioner.

Here again it looks as if all was not quite as it should be. But, disagreeing as Mr. Farnall evidently did with the central executive, whose deputy he had been on the former occasion, it would be difficult to define how he was to promote harmony as government commissioner. If he reconciled the Stalybridge committee to the rioters, by inducing them to concede the point in dispute, he would set them at variance with the central executive, of which he was also a member ; and we know that harmony was ultimately restored by the firmness of the committee, who afterwards, as an act of grace, cemented the peace by conceding one-half of the demand, and paying half the weekly allowances in money, and half in tickets.

There was one particular district where the trade was entirely in the hands of a few very rich men, all of whom early in the crisis stopped their works ; and, contributing to the relief fund in the proportion of about ten shillings, or one week's wages per hand, threw all their workpeople upon the relief committee. One of these men is familiarly reported to have realised about £120,000 by the rise in the value of his stock. On the 15th June, 1863, Mr. Farnall was "requested to convey the views of the committee most strongly to the local millowners." Mr. Farnall no doubt undertook the task, and brought all the weight of his official influence to bear ; but the subscription list bears no evidence of success : the millowners resisted even the "suasive eloquence" of the special commissioner, for the total extra sum subscribed up to the close of the fund was £21.

On September 21st, 1863, Mr. Farnall was "requested to visit Oldham immediately, and to recommend to the relief committee there the discontinuance of any future relief to persons who were also relieved by the guardians." At the end of August the number so relieved in Oldham was one thousand and eleven; at the end of December it was seven hundred and forty-four; at the end of April, 1864, it was seven hundred and fifty-four; at the end of June it was one hundred and seventy; and it finally faded out in August, 1864, just eleven months from the date of the mission.

With regard to the Chorlton board of guardians, where Mr. Farnall had declined to go a second time, it was afterwards found advisable, in the interests of the poor-law board, to put Mr. J. W. Maclure upon the commission of the peace, in order that he might attend the board *ex officio*. It may not have been due to any fault in Mr. Farnall that he could not reconcile the various committees at Ashton, for the task failed in other hands as totally as in his; but the minutes of the central executive prove that there was at least room for a difference of opinion as to the value of his appointment. He no doubt did his best, and it would have looked invidious to part with him without a vote of thanks; but, as disinterested judges and faithful recorders, whilst we give greater praise to the president of the poor-law board for his personal efforts, and to Mr. Rawlinson for his great skill and active co-operation, we by no means wish to undervalue the services of Mr. Farnall. We have said that his task was not an easy one, and he could doubtless tell of more difficulties encountered and overcome than were visible to an outside observer.

CHAPTER XVI.

Growing Monotony of Disciplinary Labour—Conditions of Grants to Superintendents—Rules for the Execution of Public Works—Suggestions as to the Adoption of the Local Government Act, 1858—Introduction of the Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Bill—Conditions of the Bill—The Principle of Public Loans Vindicated—Mr. Rawlinson's Report—Debate on Second Reading of the Bill—The Policy of Emigration—Mr. Ferrand's Error—Mr Farnall's Estimate of the Numbers who would be Employed under the Act—Disappointment of the Executive Committee—Misappropriation of the Loan at Manchester, Stockport, and Blackburn—The Manchester Board of Guardians—The Hulme Park Movement—Protest of Working Men against the Pauper Passage to Labour—Classes of Men Engaged on the Stockport Works—Mr. Rawlinson's Erroneous Estimate of Numbers—Slow Progress—Official Reflection and Delay—Account of the Works Undertaken—Applications Refused and the Grounds thereof.

THE disciplinary work, mental or physical, found by relief committees for their dependants, answered very well until the novelty had worn off, and then it gradually became almost as unsatisfactory as pauper or prison labour. Being necessarily spread over the whole week, so as to afford a positive check against imposition, it left the operatives no liberty of action to shift for themselves, without renouncing all claim upon the funds; and a certain rate of relief being given to all alike, it gave no reward for, and therefore afforded no stimulus to, industry. The natural and almost inevitable consequence was, that men worked not as at a task, for the accomplishment of which they would be rewarded according to their exertions, but listlessly, waiting, like tired children at school, for the hour of dismissal; knowing that the connection between the work done, and the relief-wages to be procured, was not a natural but a forced relationship—a make-believe, which produced no sympathy, and therefore no fruitful result.

The central executive committee felt this, and attached to its report of 30th March, 1863, as an appendix, the following extracts from the minutes of the meeting held on the 5th March, 1863:—

Resolved: "That grants be made from the employment and school fund towards the payment of the wages of superintendents, in order to promote the employment of men and youths above eighteen, on the following conditions and scale:— 1st. The work is to be of public advantage, such as the improvement of public roads and footpaths; of the sanitary condition of any town or village; or for the provision of places of public recreation. These works are to be distinguished as far as possible from such labour on private property as will be an advantage to the owner.— 2nd. The grants will be made by payments towards the wages of competent superintendents of work. Such aid will be at the rate of sixpence weekly for every labourer at work under a foreman, provided that no labour company, under one such overlooker, exceed forty men.—3rd. The period during which the men are to be required to work weekly, should be proportioned to the amount of relief, at a rate of payment per hour; and the time not thus occupied should be spent in school. The foreman should be employed the whole day.—4th. A return of the number of men so employed must be made in the form now approved, with the usual monthly schedule of application for an ordinary grant."

And in the next report, dated 27th April, 1863, the executive followed up their resolution by remarks, which showed that the subject of labour occupied much of their attention; and that their views were becoming more definite as to the absolute necessity of promoting, so far as possible, the provision of work for wages instead of for relief. In this report they said:—

"If any private work be done by men paid by the relief committee, the proprietor should pay to the committee the customary cost of the execution of such work by the piece. If fairly valued on this principle, farms might be drained or fenced, or prepared for crops; and private roads might be made, or ornamental works carried out on estates, by relief committees. And a landed proprietor may do all these works, on one of two systems. He may either withdraw the workman wholly from the receipt of relief, giving him full employment at ordinary wages; or he may pay him the ordinary rate of wages per hour, employing him four or five hours per day as a part of his means of subsistence. This would make such work co-ordinate with the action of a relief committee, which might employ the remaining members of the

family, and give them relief at a certain rate per hour, so as to make up the relief of the family to the scale. * * * If contracts for useful public works are undertaken, such engagements should be made by some public body, such as a municipal corporation. But public works would cause an outlay which would increase the burdens of ratepayers. Unless, therefore, parliament, in consideration of the gravity of the crisis, give greatly increased powers to raise money on loan for public works, at low rates of interest, and for long periods of years, it is scarcely to be expected that when so large a part of the capital of the cotton districts is unproductive, town councils will consider themselves justified in charging their boroughs with any such large outlay as would be required to set all the able-bodied men now relieved on work. But if municipalities were enabled—for all purposes for which they are now authorised by law to contract loans—to contract new loans—to spread the repayment of all loans over a much longer period of time, and even to postpone the payment of the first instalment for five or more years, many works would certainly be undertaken by town councils which would otherwise be neglected. Supposing this to be done, it would be open to the town councils to set the able-bodied either on piece-work, or on work by the hour, at the ordinary rate of wages per hour. As in the supposed case of the landed proprietor, town councils might allow the workman to earn wages, in which case a limited number would be wholly removed from the relief lists. Or they might allow a larger number of men to labour four or five hours daily, or to work by the piece until they had earned a given sum per week, as part of their relief from the board of guardians or relief committee. What has been said of town councils applies, in their respective spheres, to improvement commissioners, to boards acting under the Local Improvements Act, and to other local authorities now more or less empowered to borrow money for public improvements. Suggestions have been made by drainage engineers and others, that the cotton districts offer a field for the profitable investment of a large capital in the improvement of land. That is a most obvious truth. A large extent of the land below the level of three hundred feet above the sea, and a still larger tract from three hundred to six hundred feet high, would pay the proprietor for draining and liming. But no government would impose these

improvements as an obligation on proprietors, and enforce a charge of the cost on landed estates, even with a renewal of the opportunity for repayment in twenty-two years, at six and a half per cent per annum (the then rate of discount). All such improvements are necessarily dependent on the progress, among landed proprietors, of an intelligent foresight as to their own interests; and nothing is more certain than that great tracts of land below the level of three hundred feet from the sea remain undrained, notwithstanding such powers as exist to borrow, through the agency of land improvement companies. It is equally apparent that a crisis which reduces the rents, and increases the burthens of landed proprietors, is not one which they would select for charging their estates with new burthens; unless the motives to do so at this time were made to preponderate, in the same way as is proposed in the case of town councils. * * * That which remains as an obvious resource is to increase, with a view to this object, all the existing facilities for loans for public and private works within these counties—by lengthening the term of years for repayment—by reducing the interest on the loans—and by postponing the repayment of the first instalment for five or more years."

Returning again to the subject in the report dated 25th May, and looking forward to the succeeding winter, the executive committee said that, in the absence of public works, there would remain little or no means of subsistence for the operatives, except the parochial rates. "Private charity will have been nearly exhausted by unwonted exertions continued through two years. By far the greater part of the capital of the cotton districts will, during that time, have remained unproductive and heavily taxed." The minute of April was intended to attract public consideration to works of municipal and parochial improvement, which might be rendered practicable by reasonable legislative and other facilities, in order to provide employment at ordinary wages for the able-bodied men who were in receipt of relief. After enumerating the various works suggested, the executive said: "Your committee has not entertained any doubt that many of the principal municipal corporations, and also townships, acting under the clauses of the Local Government Act (1858), would be disposed to undertake extensive public works, provided they were enabled to obtain loans of money sufficient to defray the cost of such works, for long terms

of years, at low rates of interest. In order, however, that the provisions of the Local Government Act may be brought into operation early enough to effectually alleviate the distress, your committee is of opinion that the following changes in that act are necessary :—

"1st. All the provisions as to the time which is to elapse between notices for the adoption of the act should be greatly shortened.—2nd. The adoption of the act would be promoted if power were given to limit its operation to a few years, and to objects connected with employment for the relief of distress. If that were done, the power of appeal against the adoption of the act might be cancelled."

The same report pointed out the fact that a large portion of the cotton operatives, ninety-one thousand three hundred and seventeen of whom were in receipt of relief, resided in townships where there was only the ordinary parochial government; and to which, therefore, the provisions of the Local Government Act (1858) did not apply. One-third of the distressed operatives were beyond the reach of the act; and the executive concluded their report with the remark that, "without separate arrangements, such as are contemplated for outlying townships, and facilities to encourage landowners to meet the charges of extensive works of private improvement, your committee is certain that such works would rarely if ever be undertaken in those parts of the cotton districts which are not comprised in municipal boroughs, and which are not under any local government board."

All these reports, in addition to those of the special commissioner, were supplied to the poor-law board; and on 8th June, Mr. Villiers asked leave, in the House of Commons, to introduce The Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Bill. It was called "An Act to facilitate the execution of public works in certain manufacturing districts; to authorise for that purpose advances of public money to a limited amount, upon the security of local rates; and to shorten the period of notice for the adoption of the Local Government Act (1858) in certain cases." The act authorised the appropriation of £1,200,000 (afterwards increased to £1,500,000, and further increased ultimately to £1,850,000) by the public works loan commissioners, for works of public utility and sanitary improvement within the cotton districts. The total amount to be lent to any local board, or other authority, was limited to one year's ratable value of the property assessable within the district, for which such

loan was required. The use of the money was limited to such works as were authorised under the Local Government Act (1858), or under some local act applying to the district in question. The interest chargeable was three and a half per cent per annum, and the repayment was to be spread over any number of years, not exceeding thirty, and to be secured by mortgage of the local rates.

The loans were to be subject to the approval of the poor-law board; which approval was to be conditional upon the board being satisfied that all the conditions of the act were complied with, on the part of the local authorities desiring the loan. The money was also to be advanced in such instalments as the poor-law board should direct; and the payment of any instalment was to be withheld on the poor-law board certifying that the works in respect of which the loan was authorised, were not being proceeded with in conformity with the plan proposed, or to the satisfaction of the poor-law board.

The principle of public loans for local purposes has often been objected to; and since every loan out of the consolidated fund necessitates either an addition to the national debt, or an extra tax upon the nation, there is no doubt room for fear lest a precedent be established, which would be productive of future mischief. But if the case be exceptional, and the purposes of the loan promotive of permanent utility, whilst the security for repayment is ample, it is difficult to see how any person, who is really anxious for the public good, can complain. In this case the suffering was endured by the operatives, in obedience to a national policy (for a breach of the blockade of the South American ports would have brought in cotton and provided employment); and the loss of wages alone was at the rate of from ten to eleven millions sterling per annum; fixed capital was unprofitable and yet heavily taxed; the shopkeepers were being rapidly reduced to the condition of the operatives, whilst the operatives themselves were fast falling into the condition of normal paupers. The immense rise in the price of cotton had rendered the expenditure for the small supply so large as to have crippled the money market; so that if corporations and landowners had been disposed to go into improvements without the aid of government, they could not have borrowed capital to invest, except at such rates of interest as would have entailed severe losses. And, apart from employment or an efficient continuance of relief,

what could be expected of the operatives? Hitherto they had borne their sufferings with exemplary patience; they knew and appreciated the cause of the evil: the penny newspapers had taught them that neither the executive government, nor the local authorities, nor their own employers, were to blame in the matter; the news of the Cyclopean struggle across the Atlantic was brought daily to their doors, and they were enabled to discuss its merits, and to take sides according to their sympathies. But they and their families had hitherto been kept supplied with sufficient food and clothing to maintain them in life and health; what would be the case if another winter found them without such supplies? Stalybridge had given warning in the spring that a reduction of relief, or a change of system, was very unpalatable. What if the necessity of a further reduction in the amount of relief, or any interference with liberty of action, should be felt in the next winter, and the Stalybridge feeling should become general? It will be universally allowed that government ought not to lose money by loans for local purposes. The law makes provision for the necessitous poor, out of the assessable property in each parish; and it is quite right that any facilities afforded, either with a view to preserve the *morale* of the people, or to temporarily relieve the necessities of the ratepayers, should be fully secured by the property of the district so assisted. But government allows only three per cent for money, and the bill proposed to charge three and a half; which, upon £1,500,000, would leave a margin of £7,500 per annum for management, decreasing gradually as the repayments were made, but amounting to about £112,000 in the whole; so that the necessary government expenditure would be very well covered.

Mr. Villiers was not directly urged to the introduction of this bill by the central executive committee. He had found that it was really desirable, so far as possible, to preserve the independence of the people; for he had probably learned from the statistics of his own department, that every increase of pauperism, from whatever cause, always leaves a sediment behind it which becomes permanently chargeable; and that such a flood as now overwhelmed Lancashire would, if left to be dealt with by the guardians alone, strand many thousands of families who would never get afloat again. He had, therefore, sent down Mr. R. Rawlinson, the eminent engineer, to inquire and report upon the desirability of the

public works, which would be likely to be undertaken, if facilities were afforded for the purpose; and that gentleman had reported as follows:—

"1st. There is plenty of useful work to be done at the several distressed towns and places.—2nd. The local governing bodies, so far as I have consulted with them, will commence such works if they can obtain legal power, and the necessary money at a low rate of interest.—3rd. A large portion of the able-bodied distressed operatives, can and will do this work, if paid fair but reasonable wages.—4th. There is sufficient local knowledge to design and superintend any works commenced.—5th. Any advance of money by government should be as a loan, on security of the entire ratable property of each district, at a remunerative rate of interest, and repayable at stated intervals.—6th. For each loan a petition, with plans and estimates, to be forwarded to some government office or officer, on the spot if preferred; and a report and recommendation, or otherwise, to be sent in before such loan is granted.—7th. Advances to be made not in a lump sum for the whole amount of the loan contracted for, but upon certificates monthly, as the work is done.—8th. The local authorities to be enabled to stop short at any point in the progress of the works, should trade revive so as to call the hands to regular work.—9th. The money borrowed should not be appropriated for other works than those scheduled in the report leading to the sanction.—One or two inspectors, as at the Local Government Act office, ought to do all the government work required. The action of the local authorities must be unfettered, or there will be mischief. There may be advice when asked for, as under the Local Government Act. The several town clerks may with advantage be consulted, as to the legal clauses in a short bill, if one is to be prepared. There are mostly some legal peculiarities in each place, which block local improvements. I feel the delicacy, and in some respects danger, in exceptional legislation; but do not know how it is to be avoided in this case."

Mr. Rawlinson's estimate of the amount which out of the whole sum would be appropriated to the employment of unskilled labour was £431,756; and the estimate of the weekly loss of wages was, at this time, nearly £150,000; so that this sum would barely substitute three weeks' wages. In the view of the central executive, the measure was in every way wise, but they doubted if it would

prove sufficient for much effectual help. Yet, small as was the measure of relief promised, considerable difficulty was expected in the House of Commons in the passage of the bill; and a deputation of the central executive went to London, and called meetings of the members of parliament who were connected with the cotton districts. With these gentlemen they waited upon the president of the poor-law board, who expressed himself as glad to receive their co-operation; and listened patiently to their suggestions. One of these suggestions led to a provision for places where the only constituted authority consisted of the poor-law guardians, and without which provision the act would have been inapplicable to about one-third of the districts meant to be included; and another suggestion, which was unfortunately not embodied in the bill, was to make it imperative to employ a given proportion of unskilled labourers. In London, and even amongst members of parliament who were not connected with Lancashire, it was supposed that the chief difficulties of the cotton districts were over, after Christmas, 1862. A great effort had been made, and a very large fund raised, for the relief of the operatives, and people consoled themselves that their duty was done, and that there could be no further need for exertion; and they had the evidence of Mr. Baker (the factory inspector) to the effect that new mills were building in every direction—a fact which, to the ordinary mind, was only consistent with a time of prosperity. They forgot that men who deal heavily in the money market, always try to make their largest investments when the funds are low, in the confidence that a time will come, when they will be able to realise, at a large profit. This was precisely what Lancashire employers were doing; they were investing capital in fixed stock, whilst material was lower priced, and labour more abundant, than it would be on the first blush of prosperity; and they were stocking with new machinery, which, reckoning lowered prices, and improved quality, in consequence of its more leisurely production, would be worth thirty or forty per cent more than average; and they were doing this in the confidence that a not distant future would supply them with abundance of cotton, which would be met from the occupiers of empty warehouses by an enormous demand for manufactured goods.

Mr. Villiers, on moving the second reading of the bill (17th June), cited, as a precedent for his proceeding, the fact that Sir

Robert Peel, when he abolished the corn laws, appropriated a sum of £2,000,000 in loans, for agricultural improvement. He pointed out the important fact, that this was not a proposal to set up government works, but simply a measure to enable local authorities to employ their own population. He expressed his satisfaction that, by means of the active sympathy of the whole empire, the people of Lancashire had hitherto got through so well; but stated that it was now desirable to inaugurate healthier relations. Full inquiry had been made, and every care had been taken, and Mr. Rawlinson had arrived at the conclusion that the public works recommended, would be of great sanitary importance; increasing the value of life, and ultimately lowering the local rates. He believed that the works would find employment for the distressed operatives, without injuring existing labour; that the operatives were well calculated for this kind of work, and eager to embark in it. The simple object of the bill was to remove the legal and financial difficulties which prevented this employment.

Mr. Ferrand complained that the bill did not go far enough, that government under-rated the extent and probable duration of the calamity. Before the end of the session they would have to ask for £3,000,000, and at least £10,000,000 would be required to keep the operatives through the winter. The only effectual remedy for the distress was a large measure of emigration.

Mr. Newdegate was afraid the expectations of the promoters of the bill would be disappointed. They had raised a superstructure in Lancashire on an unsound basis, and there was no doubt that the means of production were excessive in this country. He also advocated emigration. What a pity the hon. gentleman does not introduce a bill to limit the ingenuity of man, and to prevent improvements in machinery, and the cheapening of goods!

Mr. Cobden pointed out the fact that Lancashire operatives had been used to wages which produced a degree of affluence, and that it would be impossible to reduce them to the agricultural level, without danger to the peace of the country. He did not deprecate emigration; he said, "Emigrate if you can better yourself." The agricultural labourers benefited by removal to Australia or America, but the mill hand could not plough, or reap, or tend cattle, and if he emigrated would be destitute. The general scope of the bill was good, but there was no universal specific. The

object was a wise one, and his right honourable friend (Mr. Villiers) had done his duty; and he hoped that every parish in Lancashire would feel it a duty to carry out the provisions of the bill. The savings of the people were gone, and the manufacturing districts must now rely on their own resources; but it was, above all, necessary to relieve small shopkeepers, who would otherwise sink under the burden of the rates.

The discussion on the bill was renewed on its committal (26th June), when Mr. Bentinck and Mr. Ferrand reiterated the emigration argument, the latter gentleman asking for the appropriation of £1,500,000 for the purpose. He also charged the manufacturers with opposing emigration for selfish purposes, and complained that some of the richest men had not given a sixpence to the relief fund.

Mr. Villiers replied that the government was really anxious to relieve the operatives, and he believed that the bill would attain that object. He deeply regretted Mr. Ferrand's unfounded statements, which were calculated to create discontent amongst the operatives, who had hitherto been most kindly treated, and were grateful for it. All they wanted was work, and the bill would provide it.

The bill had been so carefully drawn, and the securities against loss were so ample, that all serious opposition gave way, and before parliament rose, it became law. The only point worthy of notice raised against the bill, was the proposal of a large measure of emigration; which is a very valuable remedy for a chronic disease in the body politic, but very unwise when applied as a relief to temporary distress. If cotton operatives emigrated, they could only go out as labourers, and the colonies could only absorb them very gradually. Many of the emigrants selected and sent out by the colonial agents have had to suffer long and keenly before finding much comfort in their new homes; what, then, would have been the case if any such number had been despatched without careful selection, as to make a sensible diminution of pressure in Lancashire? The United States afforded the only opening for large numbers, and the British legislature does not send emigrants beyond the boundaries of the empire. The British people would not be likely to assist, however indirectly, in recruiting the armies of the United States. A great number of operatives deported

themselves, and, arriving empty handed in the United States, were to a great extent absorbed into the terrible struggle which agitated that country. And if cotton operatives were to emigrate as labourers, why not save the cost of the voyage, and let them labour at home, and so be ready for the return of prosperity in their own trade? This was what the bill proposed to accomplish, and the good sense of the House of Commons approved the plan; and the day is probably not distant when Mr. Ferrand, the farmer's friend, will also be glad that his suggestion was not adopted. Cotton at sixpence or eightpence per pound, will find Lancashire short of from fifty to a hundred thousand hands, and the agricultural districts will again be resorted to, for weavers and spinners to fill Lancashire factories; and if Mr. Ferrand's proposal of £1,500,000 had been adopted, and one hundred and fifty thousand people sent away, the farmers would on the return of prosperity have had cause to complain, that the factories had taken away their labourers, and that the harvest would spoil for want of hands to gather it. Whilst we write (in October, 1865), with cotton at two shillings per pound, weavers are difficult to find and not easy to please: what would be the state of the case with the raw material at nominal prices?

At the meeting of the general committee, 15th June, 1863, Mr. Farnall, in order to remove the idea that the principal difficulties of the executive were over, said "he and others had gone through a vast number of figures, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the number who would be employed in these districts, of skilled and unskilled labourers, whose work would be provided by £1,500,000, to be lent at three and a half per cent. The result arrived at was, that the total number who could be employed, both as skilled and unskilled labourers (including the bricklayers, carpenters, masons, &c., that had been spoken of as having become dependent on assistance) would be thirty thousand at the very outside."

Mr. Farnall seemed to anticipate that the number of persons named by him would be set to work during the autumn and winter of 1863, but the difficulty of dealing with red tape, however loosely tied, was now to be experienced; and it is earnestly to be hoped, that should Lord Derby ever again be premier, the knowledge gained by him at the relief committee will be made available in the practical business of government. By the end of August,

£178,739 had been applied for on loan for approved works, but in the December report, the central executive expressed their regret at the small progress made, in bringing the act into operation; mainly attributable to the late period at which it was passed, and to the various formalities required by it; and to the omission of any simple forms of security, to be given by local authorities. A representation made by the committee, as to the unnecessary multiplication of deeds, and consequent increase of expense, had met with prompt attention; but the charges for small loans were spoken of as still disproportionately high. Up to 16th January, 1864, only two thousand two hundred and eighty-one cotton operatives were employed upon public works, and in addition to the government hinderances, Mr. Rawlinson explained that there were difficulties in the selection of proper works for unskilled hands; that there was often an inadequate staff in the distressed localities, for the preparation of plans and estimates; and that in places where the Local Government Act had been adopted for the purpose, the whole machinery of administration had to be improvised. It was the intention of the central executive to chronicle the progress of employment under the Public Works Act monthly, in their report, but the result was so unsatisfactory that, in the report dated 7th March, 1864, whilst acknowledging the advantages of the act, and hoping that the numbers at work under it would steadily increase, they add: "But having regard to the obstacles to the realisation of all the benefits expected from this act which have been encountered, your committee is not so sanguine as to expect that, in the most distressed districts, the public works will supersede the necessity of aid from relief committees." This was a very qualified expression of disappointment; and after this time the committee seem to have left the act to its fate; for it is not again mentioned in the reports until October, 1864, when, in a meeting of the general committee, Dr. Watts asked the mayor of Manchester, how much money had been received by the city for public works, and how many cotton operatives were employed under the act; and elicited the astonishing reply that £85,000 had been received, and that thirty-five cotton operatives were then being employed. The town clerk explained that the corporation had employed all the men who had been sent by the guardians of Manchester; that he had understood

the Chorlton guardians had not till that time any able-bodied paupers; that the corporation did not go about looking for cotton operatives on purpose to employ them; and that with those already sent, difficulties had arisen with the contractors. Dr. Watts asked if it was necessary, under an act passed expressly to maintain the independence of the workmen, for them to become paupers before they had a claim to employment; but he received no reply. Lord Egerton remarked, that he had always understood that the great object of the act was to provide employment for distressed operatives; and Lord Derby said he was afraid that a very painful impression would be produced when it was known that nearly one-sixth of the whole sum had been granted to Manchester, and that the proportion of unskilled operatives employed was so meagre. In the quarterly meeting of the Manchester town council, October 26, Mr. Alderman Neill stated that the corporation had embraced every opportunity to give work to unemployed operatives, and that from the beginning of September, the numbers had increased from fifty-three to ninety-three; that in default of more operatives, skilled workmen had been engaged, and if the operatives who had since become chargeable to the guardians were to be employed, the skilled workmen would have to be discharged, which would throw them upon the parish. The council would bear him out, that before they had a farthing of this money, he stated that the work they were projecting would swallow up seventy-five per cent for materials alone. Even the small sum left would have to be largely employed in that kind of work which could not be done by unskilled operatives. If the corporation had been sometimes unable to employ unskilled operatives, it had not been from any fault of their own. As chairman of the cemetery committee, he had pressed these men upon the contractor against his will.

There are two matters in this defence which are unsatisfactory: First, that only the operatives sent by the guardians were recognised; and second, that a contractor, whose only interest was profit, and whose employment was never contemplated by the act, is introduced to bear the blame. If the work must needs be let to a contractor, surely the spirit of the act required that he should be bound to employ the people for whose especial benefit it was passed; instead of which skilled workmen were imported, and then their existence pleaded as an excuse, for not employing cotton

operatives. But there is also implied in this explanation, a very serious charge against Messrs. Rawlinson and Farnall, in the assertion that they were made quite aware, by the plans and specifications, of the very small amount which would be at liberty for the employment of unskilled labour; and as this charge was repeated at the meeting of the central executive (November 7), in the presence of Mr. Farnall, and not denied by him, the only possible explanation is, that he and Mr. Rawlinson in their over anxiety to keep up the credit of the government, encouraged the corporation of Manchester to apply for so large a sum, in order to secure the speedy appropriation of the amount set apart by parliament. The first application for a loan was dated 11th August, and up to the end of the year the total applications, exclusive of Manchester, covered only £676,711 out of the £1,500,000; and the total sum advanced up to the same date was £143,585, which, at £100 per man, would be equal to the employment of one thousand four hundred and thirty-six, instead of the thirty thousand men contemplated by Mr. Farnall.

The total number of factory operatives employed by the corporation of Manchester up to 8th November was two hundred and four, and the amount received on loan by them was £135,000; so that whilst the average capital per hand in the cotton trade does not exceed £65, it took about £1,100 to find employment for one man on public works in Manchester; and half the wages of the whole number, at fifteen shillings each per week, would be paid by the difference in the interest at which the money was borrowed, and the six per cent, which at the same date the bank would allow for it.

Nor was Manchester the only place where there was reason for dissatisfaction, on these grounds. Mr. Alderman Walmsley, of Stockport, resigned his office, because a majority of the town council approved of what, in his opinion, was a misappropriation of the loan; and it was shrewdly suspected that at Blackburn men were kept on public works at relief allowance, instead of at wages. But if in any similar future calamity a public works act should be proposed, and some government official should rise in his place and point to the act of 1863 as having been jobbed, it will be a sufficient reply to say, that if the servants of the government had been determined to see the spirit of the act complied

with in every case, the local authorities could not have misappropriated; and if the suggestion of the central executive to oblige the employment of a certain per centage of unskilled labour had been adopted by the government, a further security would have been held against any misuse of funds.

There is no doubt that Mr. Rawlinson had sanctioned all the plans; and if the loan had been three millions instead of one and a half, it might have been worth while to grant a quarter of a million to Manchester, for works requiring but a small amount of unskilled labour; for there is no doubt about the utility of the works undertaken, or about their sanitary value. It was also very liberal of the government to leave local authorities quite unfettered in their application of the money; but it would have secured the objects of the bill much more effectually, to have required a certain proportion of cotton operatives to be employed, so long as they were available. If places like Manchester had declined the loan on such terms, the money would have been left for localities which have either applied and been disappointed, or which have simply not applied because they understood the fund to be exhausted; and where a large proportion of operatives would have been employed. The bill, as it is, has effected, and will yet effect, a very good purpose throughout the district, and future generations will reap its advantages; but it has not done, and will not do, what its promoters intended and anticipated. It has not found employment for any considerable number of cotton operatives, and is in that respect a disappointment. The money will not be wasted, as was much of that which was lent to Irish proprietors during the potato famine; it will be well spent, and no doubt punctually repaid; but it has not kept the cotton operatives from boards of guardians and relief committees, and has therefore not maintained the independence of any considerable proportion of them.

At a meeting of the Manchester board of guardians, 11th November, 1864, the clerk stated that there were eighty-eight able-bodied men dependent, who were fit for employment on the public works. And Mr. Leppoc, who had seconded the appointment of a committee to confer with the corporation as to the employment of this class, withdrew from the committee, on learning that out of £227,000 borrowed, only £12,000 would be available for the employment of factory operatives. The chairman

of the board stated that a deputation of the able-bodied men had waited on him, expressing anxiety to be placed upon the public works, and complaining of the injustice which had been done to them by the employment of skilled labourers, out of a fund which was specially intended for unskilled labour.

The feeling of the men who were employed in Manchester, at Christmas, 1864, is displayed in the following address, presented to Mr. Maclure, 26th December:—

"To John W. Maclure, Esq., honorary secretary of the central executive relief committee.

"Respected Sir,—We, the operatives employed upon these works, respectfully beg leave to convey, through you, our sincere expressions of gratitude to the lords and gentlemen belonging to the above-named committee—of which we are proud to say you hold the office of a distinguished member—for the past and present sympathy accorded, in generously providing us with suitable clothing, so essentially necessary in enabling us to endure the winter's inclemency and the privations of out-door employment; which we can amply testify, had it not been for the welcome boon afforded us, and the timely distribution of such clothing, some, perhaps, of the least robust among us might have literally succumbed, through cold and exhaustion, to the present severity of the season. But we are proud to say that such is now likely to be happily avoided, through the assistance and liberality of which we are now partaking. Trusting that this acknowledgment of our gratitude may be taken as an earnest appreciation of the kindness we have already experienced and are presently receiving, come from whatever source it may—whether it be from the members of the Manchester corporation, the board of guardians, or the central executive committee, it is not for us to make any distinction—we heartily and gratefully return our best thanks collectively to all whom we have named, believing that they are justly entitled to our gratitude and esteem for the kind manner in which they have severally attended to our wants and solicitations; and particularly in coming forward disinterestedly and supplying us daily with a warm and comfortable dinner, which, we must admit, reflects the highest honour and credit to those who are the generous donors. In conclusion, we also return a share of our thanks to the gentleman who acts as our

worthy host, who, we must confess, endeavours, to the best of his ability, to discharge the duty entrusted to his care in an orderly and efficient manner.—We, are, sir, respectfully yours,

"(Signed on behalf of the committee of operatives),

"JOHN MALCOLM.

"MATTHEW MORRIS."

Mr. Farnall reported to the central executive, October 31, that there were nearly four thousand recipients of relief from boards of guardians, within the cotton districts, who were fit for employment on public works; and the committee adopted a circular to the different relief committees, requesting that they would put themselves into immediate communication with the local authorities having charge of public works, in order to secure employment, at wages, for as many factory operatives as possible. The executive also recommended district committees, in order to encourage the operatives in the work, to provide a suit of warm clothing each, for such as were likely to be long engaged; and to lend waterproof boots to those who were required to work in water.

With a view to the improvement of Manchester, and the provision of employment, an agitation was commenced for the establishment of a public park for the townships of Chorlton and Hulme; and, in 1863, resolutions were carried in township meetings in favour of the plan, including a provision for repayment, out of the rates of the two townships. An opposition was organised upon the plea that the borough, and not the townships, ought to pay for the park; and when this proposal had been negatived, a quarrel arose between the two townships on the question of the site to be chosen; and, after twelve months' intermittent discussion, the whole project fell through, and the hopes of the unskilled labourers were again disappointed.

On 22nd October, 1864, a meeting of workmen was held in Manchester, in which very strong expressions of indignation were used, that men should be obliged to undergo the degradation of pauperism in order to be sent to the public works. They were all desirous of work, but, as matters were managed, regular navvies were principally employed on the public works, which were intended for the factory operatives. Special attention was directed to the fact that the corporation of Blackburn employed the cotton opera-

tives in laying drainage pipes, and supplied them with good clothes and water-tight boots for the work, whilst their earnings were not less than three shillings per day. Why, it was asked, could not the same thing be done in Manchester? A man, who towards the close of the meeting said, if food was not given them, they would take it, was severely reproved by the chairman, who said that the only object of the meeting was to draw up a respectful statement of their grievances, in order to get them remedied.

The engineer of the Blackburn and Stockport public works, stated in the *Manchester Guardian*, November 15, 1863, that up to that date there had been paid about £11,000 for unskilled labour in Blackburn, and that the portion of the work done by unskilled day-labourers had cost five per cent less than the contract work. At Stockport, £5,319 out of £6,047 wages paid, was for unskilled labour; and to prove that cotton operatives could do excavations for sewers and drains, ballasting for new roads and streets, improvements of water courses, the formation of parks and cemeteries, and the drainage of land, he gave the following list of two hundred and eighty-three workmen who were thus employed at Stockport :—

Occupations of Workmen Employed under Public Works Act, at Stockport, for Week Ending September 28, 1864.

Overlookers	12
Weavers	50
Self acting minders and spinners	66
Sizers, warpers, beamers, twisters	12
Strippers, grinders, feeders, mixers	46
Candlewick slubbers, &c.	12
Calico bleachers, printers, dyers	14
Mill jobbers, cop carriers, &c	36
Thread workers	2
Heald dressers	1
Engineers, mechanics, stokers, bobbin turners, shuttle, and spindle makers	17
Carters and labourers	12
Warehousemen	2
Umbrella maker	1
Total	283

In Bolton, at the same date, there had been paid about £7,000 in wages to factory operatives, out of a total expenditure of £10,575; and in Glossop, £9,874 had been paid in wages to factory operatives, out of a total expenditure of £12,507.

At the end of October, 1864, the total number of men employed upon the public works throughout the district was six thousand four hundred and twenty-four, of whom four thousand and two were returned as factory operatives; and the amount of money advanced on loan was, at the same date, £742,260, or about £115. 10s. per man, which is about the average capital per man employed in coal mines. The weekly expenditure at this time was, according to Mr. Rawlinson, about £10,000. The numbers employed under the act had not reached one quarter of the estimate given by Mr. Farnall, in June, 1863; but Mr. Rawlinson, by adding two thousand persons as indirectly employed in getting stone and other materials, and reckoning each person as the head of a family, drew the extravagant conclusion that from thirty thousand to forty thousand persons were deriving subsistence from these works. The central executive found, practically, that each operative would on an average represent from two and one-third to two and a half persons, but Mr. Rawlinson made each one represent four and a half persons. He also expressed the opinion that, if a more rapid employment of factory workmen had been made compulsory on local authorities, a very large portion of the works would not have been undertaken. Such compulsory interference would, he thought, have been deemed an insufferable infringement of the rights of private property, and of public convenience. Upon this matter the reader will form his own opinion, and many persons will certainly conclude that, if the works upon which the smallest proportion of factory operatives were employed, had not been undertaken under the act, the public convenience would not have suffered much; for the rich community of Manchester would doubtless have found means for all needful works, and many poorer districts would then have shared the advantages of the loan at a low rate of interest.

And that the blame for the slight progress under the Public Works Act was not wholly due to the local authorities, will be evident from a comparison of the dates of some of the applications for loans with the dates of the approval orders. Let it be remembered that the districts had already been inspected before the bill was passed. Mr. Rawlinson had seen many of the local authorities, and discussed their various schemes before the act was even drawn. Yet, as will be seen, the official mind required a considerable time

for reflection, before sanctioning plans to preserve the independence of the operatives, which was the special object proposed by Mr. Villiers to be accomplished by the bill.

DATES OF APPLICATIONS FOR LOANS, AND OF APPROVAL ORDERS, UNDER PUBLIC WORKS ACT.

		Applied.	Date of Order.
1863—	Bury	October 27	March 11, 1864.
	Chorley	September 8	December 5, 1863.
	Glossop	December 30	February 12, 1864.
	Great Harwood	August 16	December 29, 1863.
	Hyde	October 6	December 31, 1863.
	Macclesfield	August 24	October 12, 1863.
	Oldham	November 23	January 13, 1864.
	Rochdale	December 5	February 29, 1864.
1864—	Newton	January 28	March 5, 1864.
	Newton	January 28	May 7, 1864.
	Pendleton	June 7	August 16, 1864.
	Ramsbottom	June 10	August 26, 1864.
	Royton	February 3	April 30, 1864.
	Royton	June 28	August, 31, 1864.
	Salford	January 25	March 3, 1864.
	Skerton	October 13	December 31, 1864.
	Tyldesley	May 25	September 19, 1864.
	Handforth	April 14	August 24, 1864.

The above are extracted from an official document, issued under the authority of the poor-law board.

At a meeting of the central executive, February 13, 1865, "Mr. Rawlinson said he had facts to state which might be of interest to the committee. The total amount devoted to the purposes of the Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Acts was, as the gentlemen would be aware, £1,850,000. The whole of that, with the exception of £3,918, had been appropriated in about ninety places. The £1,846,082 had been taken up in one hundred and fifty-five separate loans. The larger portion of the expenditure was on sewerage and street improvement works, including the formation, paving and flagging, channelling, and kerb stones of streets, and also the widening, re-forming, and improvement of highways in the rural districts. The length of sewerage works thus undertaken, exclusive of house drainage, would be five hundred and thirty-four thousand four hundred and forty-five yards, or about three hundred and four miles. The area of paving and other works of street and highway improvement, undertaken in respect of the above-

mentioned sum, was three millions seven hundred and eight thousand three hundred and ninety-three square yards, or about seven hundred and sixty-six acres. The total length of the streets and highways was four hundred and eighty-five thousand five hundred and sixty yards, or nearly two hundred and seventy-six miles. The cubical contents of the reservoirs, forming the storage of the water-works undertaken in respect of the sum of £414,629, were about one thousand four hundred and eighty million six hundred and seventy-five thousand gallons; equal to about three-days' flow of the river Thames at Richmond in dry weather. Reports received from local surveyors, showed that the cotton operatives had worked most admirably at these public works; that the improvements were highly appreciated in the several localities; and that they were still progressing satisfactorily. In the week ending December 31, the number of unskilled factory operatives employed was three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, and of skilled labourers two thousand seven hundred and forty-one; but he begged leave to remark that many of those here described as 'skilled' were originally factory operatives, who had passed from the unskilled to the skilled list. The total number directly employed was six thousand seven hundred and nineteen; but this was exclusive of at least two thousand men employed in getting stone in the quarries, and on other works contingent upon the Public Works Act. The increase in the price of material over the district, through the great demand, had certainly been from fifteen to twenty-five per cent, but the increased value to property, in consequence of sewerage, paving, &c., had been more than equivalent. In addition to the £1,850,000 granted by the government under the acts, he had reason to know that, in many of the towns, private improvements had been carried on to complete the public works, which would represent a very large amount over the district. One important result would be that the cottages of working men throughout Lancashire would be very materially improved, in regard to the comfort and health of the occupants.

"Major Leigh inquired if Mr. Rawlinson thought many of the men engaged on these public works would ever go back to their former occupations in the factories.

"Mr. Rawlinson: Never. Taking Wigan as an instance, it was seen that men, formerly cotton operatives, after having twelve

months' experience on out-door works, had gone away to other similar works elsewhere, tempted by higher wages or other considerations. The same thing had been going on in other places."

There cannot be a doubt that the facts set forth in this report are most valuable, and that Lancashire will reap much permanent benefit from the investment made; but it is very remarkable that, at the distance of two and a half years from the passage of the bill, and after the appropriation of the whole of the money, employment should only have been found for one-fifth of the predicted number, including both skilled and unskilled operatives.

The following is Mr. Rawlinson's report to the central executive at its last meeting, 20th June, 1865:—

"Office of Public Works, St. Peter's Square,
"Manchester, 19th June, 1865.

"Public works have been in operation in the distressed cotton districts for nearly two years, and about £1,000,000 has been expended upon useful employment, at an average rate of some £10,000 weekly, since the commencement of the works to the present time. During the deepest portion of the distress, some thirty-five thousand people, directly and indirectly, have received relief from the money so expended. A considerable amount of money has also been expended in connection with public works, but derived from private sources; so that relief is not entirely measured in the amount of money advanced by government. Upwards of two hundred miles of streets have been sewered, formed, paved, channelled, and the footwalks flagged. The average wages earned by cotton operatives, have ranged from fourteen shillings to sixteen shillings per week. There have been many forms of labour, other than sewering and street-forming, such as land-draining, which some noblemen and gentlemen have undertaken. Highways and roads have been improved by boards of guardians; owners of estates adjoining having, as a rule, given the land required. The resident inspector (Mr. R. A. Arnold) has made three hundred visits to the local authorities, and inspections of the works. Three hundred and fifteen special reports have been made, and Mr. Villiers, the president of the poor-law board, has issued two hundred and seventy-five orders for loans and instalments. The greatest number of distressed operatives employed

directly at any one time was four thousand and two, besides upwards of two thousand employed indirectly in getting stone and other materials. But this is not the full test of the usefulness of these works, as many, after learning to use their implements, have found employment in other places. Cotton operatives are now being rapidly withdrawn to the mills. Contracts have, however, been entered into in some districts for the completion of sewering, paving, waterworks, and the other various forms of work undertaken. "ROBERT RAWLINSON."

The following are some of the applications which were refused by the poor-law board, together with the grounds of refusal:—

Name of Local Authorities Applying.	Amount Asked for.	For what Purpose.	Ground of Refusal.
Accrington Local Board of Health	£8,000	For providing a cemetery.	That the local board was constituted under 20 and 21 Vict., c. 81, and not under Local Government Act, 1858, and therefore not within the meaning of the Public Works Act.
Newton Heath Local Board . .	Requested forms to make Application.		That the amount at disposal would be exhausted by previous applications.
Nelson Local Board . . .	From £6,000 to £8,000	Water supply	The like.
Ashton-und.-Lyne Town Council .	£18,000	Cemetery.	The like.

Various other applications were refused, for the very proper reason that the works proposed "would not afford a reasonable amount of employment for unskilled labour;" and if the poor-law board had taken up this position at an earlier date, Ashton, where about four thousand persons had to be relieved in the week ending 27th May, 1865, and where the pressure of distress was then seven per cent of the population, might have had its cemetery; Nelson-in-Marsden its water supply; the Newton Heath application might have been considered; and a way might have been found out of the difficulty which barred the road to improvement at Accrington.

But, with all its defects of construction and of administration, Lancashire ought to be grateful for the Public Works Act; and may safely thank Mr. Villiers for his willing and compliant aid, and Mr. Rawlinson for his sound advice, and valuable and willing help; and if this act should, as it deserves, become a precedent, to be more promptly resorted to in the future, the whole country will have reason to bless its promoters, for a most important and valuable provision against any future severe local distress.

CHAPTER XVII.

Condition of Friendly Societies—Ingenious Suggestions to Avoid Illegality—Value of Registrar's Reports—State of the Oddfellows (Manchester Unity)—The Amalgamated Engineers, &c.—The Warehousemen and Clerks' Society—Condition of the Savings Banks—Deposits and Withdrawals, 1861 to 1864—Classes who Invest in Savings Banks—Effects of the Crisis on Co-operative Stores—Condition of Fourteen Sample Stores—Withdrawals of Capital—Joint-Stock Spinning and Manufacturing Companies—Share List, 1861 and 1864—Fabulous profits of 1860-1—Dear Experience—Instances of Failures—Influence of the Crisis on Railway Traffic and Dividends.

TOWARDS the end of 1861 the registrar of friendly societies received various letters from Heywood, Oldham, Preston, Hyde, Ashton, and Manchester, of which the following is a fair specimen :—

"Ashton-under-Lyne.

"Dear Sir,—As a member of a friendly society enrolled under act of parliament, I venture to address you on the unparalleled amount of distress at present existing amongst our members, through the failure in the supply of the raw material—cotton. At a meeting held last night, various propositions were laid before the society for consideration, but the officers find themselves in such a position that they refuse to act, for fear of rendering themselves amenable to the law. We have for the last six months relieved a many cases from the management fund, until the fund has become so low as to cause no little uneasiness to the officers. We are at present about eighty-four in number, and we have about £60 in the management fund, and £800 in the sick and funeral fund. I was instructed by the members present last night to ask your advice about the following propositions :—

"1st. Can we take money from the sick and funeral fund and place it in the management fund?—2nd. Can a society relieve distressed cases from the sick and funeral fund?—3rd. Can a society divide equally a portion of the sick and funeral fund to

relieve its distressed members, by consent of five-sixths of the members?—4th. Can a society, by consent of its members at a summoned meeting, agree to suspend its monthly subscriptions for a certain time?

"I, along with the officers, am convinced that all the propositions are illegal; but we find great difficulty in convincing our starving members. Your earliest attention will much oblige, yours most respectfully," &c.

The reader will see that a great amount of ingenuity was exercised to try to find a legal mode by which money subscribed for one definite purpose might be appropriated to another; but the men, although starving and dealing only with their own property, were not disposed to infringe the law. The registrar wrote them as follows:—

"I am sorry to find that such distressing effects are caused by the American war, as those which your questions indicate. Each question is answered in the negative; but, as the emergency may continue for a very long period, the enclosed rule may be passed, and would probably give some relief to the members. In any case, the relief allowed by the rules should be paid to the members *so long as any funds remain.*

"SUGGESTED RULE.

"That if the members be rendered incapable of paying their contributions, through any emergency of trade, or any other cause over which the members have no control, the president shall have power to call a summoned meeting, to take into consideration such emergency or other causes; such meeting to have power to suspend payment of contributions for any period not exceeding twelve months, if the majority of the members deem it necessary. Should the cause of the distress continue longer than twelve months, another meeting shall be held to consider the necessity of commencing another period not exceeding twelve months under this rule."

The registrar tells us that this rule has been generally adopted, so that the friendly societies would generally suspend subscriptions, and simply pay out sickness and funeral money during the crisis; and unless some plan be adopted for greatly increasing the subscriptions of the members on the revival of trade, in order to

replace the funds so paid out, a general bankruptcy of these societies will ensue; and the registrar does not appear to suggest any such measure of repayment.

The reports of the registrar of friendly societies contain very valuable information, not only to the statistician, but even more so to the members of the societies themselves; and their utility would be greatly enhanced if they were regularly supplied to every enrolled society, and kept to be consulted by the officers and members thereof. At present the information leaks out to the general public, through the newspapers, and that only once a year; when a sort of general notice appears, containing the prominent features of the report, but seldom if ever in such form as to be of use to the persons most interested.

The officers of friendly societies, whose funds had become exhausted, sought occasionally to constitute themselves into relief committees, in alliance with the central executive. But, it being evident that to multiply sources of relief in the same district, would give facilities for fraud, it was necessary to deal with such cases systematically; and on 8th December, 1862, two applications to the central executive were read from trades societies (providing for relief of members during sickness, as well as by superannuation and burial funds), whose funds were approaching exhaustion. It was resolved to inform the memorialists that, "as the central executive committee are precluded from making grants except to efficiently organised relief committees, they desire to suggest that persons belonging to legally constituted benefit societies whose funds threaten to become exhausted, by the burthens thrown on them during the cotton famine, have enhanced their claim for relief by all persons of frugality and providence; and that, when the allowance derived from such societies becomes inefficient, it should be raised to the settled scale of relief."

The publication of this resolution doubtless satisfied the officials throughout the district of the course to be pursued, and no further applications appear to have been made. There are more than one thousand two hundred friendly societies in Lancashire, and in 1861 they owned more than £500,000.

A fair idea of the position of the friendly societies may be formed from the following facts, supplied by the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows. Their number of members in Lancashire exceeds

forty-eight thousand, and a subscription throughout the order, in 1862, raised more than £5,000 for distribution in the distressed districts. The travelling cards issued to members seeking employment in 1860 were four hundred and six; in 1861 they were seven hundred and fifty-five; in 1862 they rose to one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight; and in 1864 they were nine hundred and sixty-three, and of this number four hundred and ninety-seven were issued in Lancashire and Cheshire. In the quarterly report for October, 1864, a second appeal to the order was inserted, signed by officials at Oldham, Ashton, Hyde, Rochdale, Heywood, and Stalybridge. It ran as follows:—

"We feel a deep and lasting obligation, and tender our most sincere and unaffected gratitude for the munificent kindness displayed throughout the order on your recent appeal to the benevolence of the members of the unity, and confess that the amount collected exceeded our most sanguine anticipations; and we were then of opinion that the sum realised might tide us over the crisis. Alas! we are but short-sighted mortals, for we seem little nearer now than we were this time last year; and the appeals made to us night after night in our lodges, the narrowing of our means, the pitiable and humiliating position to which many good members are now reduced—thousands of whom are still in receipt of relief, and hundreds who are but a small remove therefrom—these combined circumstances have tempted us (though very reluctantly) to again memorialise you to allow another petition to go round the unity. At the same time we wish you to understand that nothing short of the sternest necessity would ever have prompted or induced us to hazard a second appeal to a body of members who have so nobly and generously responded to your former call, and for which we lack words to express our thankfulness."

Notwithstanding the report of Mr. Baker (the factory inspector), regarding the erection of new mills during the crisis, there seems to have been severe pressure amongst the operative machine makers. As in the cotton trade, their greatest prosperity was reached in 1860, and they appear to have been the first to suffer. It is evident that the earliest news of the American war stopped the orders for machinery, although work in cotton manufacturing went on at almost the ordinary rate for a year longer. The following table will show the total amount paid by the society of Amalgamated Engineers, &c., to members out of work, from 1860 to 1864 inclusive:—

	Number of Members.	Amount paid in Donation. £	Amount per Member. £ s. d.
1860	20,935	7,841	0 7 5¾
1861	22,862	20,474	0 17 11
1862	24,234	39,116	1 12 3¼
1863	26,056	32,653	1 5 1¼
1864	28,815	16,425	0 11 4¾

And the cause of the pressure will be evident enough, if we confine our attention to the branches of the society in the cotton districts. The following table will then exhibit the result :—

Amount of Donation to Members in the Cotton Districts, 1861-4.

	No. of Members.	Amount of Donation. £ s. d.	Amount per Member. £ s. d.
1861	7,011	9,356 8 9	1 6 8
1862	6,969	19,919 5 2	2 17 2
1863	6,844	16,019 2 1½	2 6 10
1864	7,237	8,441 11 8½	1 3 3¼

Thus, whilst the society showed continual progress, the Lancashire branches fell off in members, and the proportion out of work was nearly double the general average; it is clear also, that the orders for new machinery commenced towards the end of 1863, when spinners and manufacturers had recovered from the first shock of panic, and began to look again with confidence to the future.

The Warehousemen and Clerks' Society of Manchester seeks to do for a higher class what the trades societies do for the operatives; and a view of its experience will show the effect of the crisis upon the warehouses in Manchester, where most of the members are engaged. The following table will show at a glance the number of members and the cost of relief for five years :—

	Number of Members.	Lost Situations.	Average of Weeks Unemployed.	Claims Paid. £ s. d.
1860	1,600	130	21½	968 7 6
1861	1,746	185	39	1,510 2 6
1862	1,561	158	37½	1,354 18 0
1863	1,436	99	26⅔	913 7 6
1864	1,400	96	—	701 0 0

Here also there was considerable migration, or else many striving and tolerably educated young men have been reduced permanently to the ranks. Many of the officials employed by the relief committees were of this class, but room could not be found

for all ; and men of slender build, in seedy black clothes and with famine-pinched faces, were obliged to mingle with the crowd, and to ask for help from relief committees; or even to bear the hated name of pauper, for the sake of wives and little ones.

Persons who are familiar with savings banks' reports do not need to be told that only a small portion of the deposits in those institutions belongs to the operatives, properly so called ; the bulk represents in a much larger degree the savings of domestic servants, of the children of small tradesmen, and of the lower stratum of the middle class generally. The greatest use made of the banks by the operative class, is to deposit the funds of their sick and burial societies; and these are liable to depletion only from extra mortality, extra sickness arising from epidemic diseases, or from radical defects in the societies themselves ; as when they charge insufficient rates for their risks, leading thereby to exhaustion of funds as the members grow old, and when they are consequently in greater need of help.

In referring therefore to the effects of the cotton famine upon the savings banks, we get a measure of the pressure of the crisis upon the small shopkeepers and the lower middle class generally ; for if domestic servants withdraw their funds in an extraordinary degree, it is because they are out of place, and need them to live upon ; and if an extraordinary proportion of servants are out of place at any time, it can only result from a forced measure of economy upon their employers. If the deposits of minors be withdrawn from the bank, it will be because their parents and guardians feel an urgent need to use the hoards which their fond affection had made, with the intention of accumulation, till the children should be ready to begin the world for themselves. Society is like the human body, its different members and classes are knit closely together; and as the toe or the finger cannot be hurt without all the members of the body suffering with it, so one class of society cannot be injured without the injury spreading to, and through all classes. Trade in some one branch and in some one locality fails, and the operatives are out of employ ; at the end of the next week, the returns of the shopkeepers in that locality make known the fact, for their goods remain unsold, and consequently, their orders through the wholesale dealers to the farmers and the manufacturers are decreased ; the profits and savings of all these classes being thus decreased, the demand for the work of the

architect, the builder, the decorator is also decreased; and last of all, if the failure of trade be of long continuance, the landowner fails to get his rents, and he feels the pressure also.

We have spoken of 1861 as an average year, and in order to avoid all charges of exaggeration, have taken it as a standard by which to judge of the losses of the three succeeding years; but the savings banks' returns make it evident that prudent people had begun to feel the pinch of poverty, and to draw upon their stores before the financial end of the savings bank year, in November, 1861, for the withdrawals in the cotton districts then exceeded the deposits of the year by £63,506. The returns of the four years 1861–4 are as follow:—

DEPOSITS IN AND WITHDRAWALS FROM SAVINGS BANKS IN THE COTTON DISTRICTS, 1861-4.

	Deposits.	Withdrawals.
1861	£730,383	£793,889
1862	593,937	877,605
1863	577,355	678,642
1864	655,574	761,263
Total	£2,557,249	£3,111,399

Thus the excess of withdrawals in these four years amounted to £554,150.

Throughout Great Britain the sums due to depositors had increased from 1854 to 1860 at the rate of 3·6 per cent per annum; and in Lancashire, where many other opportunities for investments had been presented, the increase in savings banks' deposits had averaged 2·7 per cent per annum during the same period. Assuming this rate of increase for the cotton districts from 1860 to 1864, there ought to have been added £361,451, so that the real pressure of the crisis upon the savings banks is measured by the excess of withdrawals and the decrease of deposits thus:—

Excess of withdrawals over deposits	£554,150
Decrease of deposits compared with 1854-60	361,451
	£915,601

And the only modification of this result is to be found in the balance remaining to the credit of depositors in the post office savings banks, which in March, 1864, amounted to £78,314; so that, allowing the transactions of the succeeding eight months to have raised these deposits to £100,000, the savings banks would then have suffered in four years to the extent of £800,000.

In a few cases the reports show that, in the opinion of the actuaries, withdrawals have taken place in order to secure more profitable investments, but the bulk of this great reserve of small savings has doubtless been consumed; and the result is that the banks are suddenly thrust back to the position of seven or eight years ago. Knowing, as we do, that the practice of saving when once established becomes a firmly settled habit, we also know that the pressure, which not only prevented accumulation, but actually drew more than £500,000 out of the hoard of years, must have been very severe; and indicates a difficulty in providing the necessaries and ordinary comforts of life, in a class above the genuine operative. And that this was the case, the evidence of shopkeepers in the various cotton manufacturing towns furnishes ample proof, for instances were very numerous where, for months together, the receipts were barely sufficient to pay rent and taxes; and the frequent changes of occupants in small shops were distressing to behold. Family after family invested their small savings in stocks of provisions or drapery goods, smallwares or toys, hoping in each case thereby to utilise the services of the wife without taking her from home; and found their stores rapidly vanishing in bad debts, or consumed in rent and taxes, without prospect of return.

In testing the effects of the cotton famine upon co-operative stores, the following fourteen stores are presented as fair specimens of the whole:—Manchester Equitable; Manchester Industrial; Bury; Mossley; Ramsbottom; Blackburn; Bolton; Oldham, King Street; Oldham, Greenacres Hill; Heywood; Rochdale, Toad Lane; Stockport; Bacup; Todmorden. The united sales of these stores amounted, in the quarter ending June, 1861, to £157,948; and, with the exception of the December quarter of the same year, they decreased quarter by quarter, until in March, 1863, they were £113,392; and then they rose again gradually, till in December, 1863, they reached £133,381. The average falling off per quarter for the two and a half years ending December, 1863, was £29,811, and the total for the period £298,116. The total number of stores in the cotton districts, at the same date, was one hundred and eighteen; so that, if the fourteen large stores above named represent one-third of the transactions of the whole, then the decreased sales would be nearly £90,000 per quarter, or £900,000 for the two and a half years. The total receipts for goods at the fourteen stores from

March 24, 1861, to December 24, 1863, were £1,281,364, and the dividends on this amount, at seven and a half per cent average, would be £96,102; and the withdrawals of capital in excess of dividends during the same period amounted to £83,007. If, therefore, our assumption that these stores represent one-third of those in the cotton districts be approximately correct, the stores may be looked upon as having contributed up to the end of 1863, in the shape of dividends, some £288,000, which their customers would not otherwise have possessed to help them through the crisis; whilst they also released about £249,000 of capital, which they had induced their members to save during better times, and which now proved the immense value of prudential investments, however small. Numerous small stores became insolvent, and wound up during the crisis, their capital being nearly all withdrawn for present consumption; so that they were left without the means to make good markets, and with uncertain customers; the bulk of their members being obliged to go where they could set up scores, which would wait till better times for liquidation. The Rochdale store alone paid out, from March, 1861, to December, 1863, £14,763 in excess of dividends, whilst their sales were £8,000 less in the quarter ending December, 1863, than in March, 1861. In Wigan, every penny of capital ever paid in, had been withdrawn; and at Preston, where early in the crisis a free reading room was opened at the store, no reply was given to inquiries in 1865, a fact which indicates that all was not right there. At Stockport the sales fell off fifty per cent, and the excess of withdrawals over deposits was £3,178. If these stores weather the storm and flourish again, as we firmly believe that most of them will do, they will prove the possession of more power of endurance and more business qualities by a large section of the working classes, than most people give them credit for.

Before us lies a list of forty-four spinning and manufacturing joint-stock companies, in which the shares were very largely held by working men. All, or nearly all, have originated since 1859, and some of them are reported to have made fabulous profits in 1860-1. The most favoured and famous is "The Bacup and Wardle," whose shares, with £12. 10s. paid, sold freely in 1861 for £26. Rumour gave them credit for dividing from thirty to fifty per cent per annum upon their paid-up capital; and it is just possible, that by keeping their paid-up capital low, and depending upon the bank, or upon

loans at five per cent per annum, for funds, they might, whilst discounts were cheap, pay largely to their shareholders. It is no secret that the average profits of the cotton trade are about twelve and a half per cent per annum on capital; so that if a company can manage to pay the banker and the mortgagee five per cent upon three-fourths of their working capital, and can make in a good year sixteen and a quarter per cent upon the whole, they may possibly, if they dont care for providing a reserve or contingency fund, pay their shareholders fifty per cent. But the bad years will come, when with no profits, they must still pay the five or more per cent on borrowed money, and pay also all establishment charges, even if the chimneys be smokeless and the machinery dumb. And that is the time of trial for the company, as for the individual proprietor who has not a good reserve of capital. If a company has its shares paid-up, it has one advantage over the individual employer; it is not forced to pay dividends if it makes no profits, and the working capital is to that extent saved; whereas the individual employer if he makes no profit, must eat up his capital; if he has no harvest, he must live upon his seed corn, and so lessen his own power of increase for the future. But many, not to say most, of the joint-stock companies, have gone upon the borrowing principle, and have during the cotton famine, realised the old adage, "who goes a borrowing goes a sorrowing." Some of them will doubtless weather the storm of the last four years, and will yet do well; but some of the forty-four in our list are probably paper companies, and some of them are now winding-up in chancery; whilst many others have lost so much by working or by standing still, that the bulk of their capital is gone, and it will take years of prosperity to make them solvent. Appended is a list of some of these companies, with the advertised prices of their shares in 1861 and 1864.

Prices of Shares in Joint-Stock Spinning and Manufacturing Companies.

	Amount Paid.	Price, May, 1861.	Price, June, 1864.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Bury and Heap . .	10 0 0	13 0 0 to 13 10 0	8 7 0 to 8 15 0
Birtle Spinning . .	10 0 0	11 5 0 to 11 8 0	6 15 0 —
Birtle, New . . .	10 0 0	10 5 0 to 10 7 0	6 0 0 —
Castletown . . .	10 0 0	10 0 0 to 11 0 0	9 5 0 —
Heywood Commercial . . .	5 0 0	5 5 0 —	2 5 0 to 2 11 0
Bacup Cotton Spinning . . .	10 0 0	12 0 0 —	8 2 6 —

	Amount Paid.	Price, May, 1861.	Price, June, 1864.
	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d
Rossendale Industrial . . .	10 0 0	14 0 0 to 14 10 0	9 12 6 —
Bacup and Wardle .	12 10 0	26 0 0 —	15 10 0 to 14 0 0
Newchurch Spinning	10 0 0	12 10 0 —	10 0 0 to 10 7 6
Heywood Spinning .	6 0 0	6 15 0 {paid in 1864, £10}	8 0 0 —
Shawforth Spinning	10 0 0	— —	7 10 0 —
Whitworth Manufacturing . .	5 0 0	— —	1 19 0 to 2 0 0
Smallbridge Manufacturing . .	5 0 0	— —	1 15 0 —
Alma Manufacturing	25 0 0	— —	12 19 0 —
Cragg Vale . . .	5 0 0	— —	1 15 0 —
Hebden Bridge . .	10 0 0	— —	5 0 0 —
Crawshawbooth . .	5 0 0	— —	2 10 0 —
Stoneholm . . .	5 0 0	— —	1 15 0 —

Great indeed must have been the troubles, and keen the heart-aches of the men who, by the accumulation of a shilling or two per week, saved out of family comforts, had bought these shares; and who, being thrown out of employment, and forced to realise, found their little stores half vanished without touching; the funds, which were to make them their own employers, and thoroughly independent of all "tyranny," gone like a cloud, and all their cherished hopes of an immediate future of prosperity thoroughly blasted. Nor does this list exhibit the companies at their worst; for at Christmas, 1863, many of the shares were absolutely unsaleable at any price. They had always believed that when the master talked of losing money, the real meaning was, that he had made so much less than he calculated upon, and so reckoned that he had lost the difference; but here was demonstration that losing meant, not getting a little addition of wealth, but the absolute vanishing of that which already existed. Thomas Carlyle says experience is a good schoolmaster, takes high wages, but teaches like none other; and here was experience out of which working men will doubtless profit, for it was dear indeed.

In one instance which came under our cognisance, a company was formed, and an agreement made to purchase a large mill, which was already in full operation. Working men agitators were engaged, who travelled from town to town, holding meetings and selling shares, and in a comparatively short time £5,000 was collected and paid over to the vendors; but, when the mills stopped, or ran short time, and cotton was at three or four times its ordinary price, it

was useless to appeal for shareholders; and the company, failing to pay its instalments for purchase, lost its whole capital of £5,000, out of which, after much begging, the vendors considerately returned £250. In another case, where a small company had collected between £4,000 and £5,000, entirely from working men, and, being ready for work, had prudently decided to lose £450 per annum for standing, rather than risk working, the managers grew tired of the suspense; and, being urged to try what they could do, commenced to weave, and in the first six months managed to lose a little less than by doing nothing, but, in the next half-year, although aided by the best skill in the market, lost half their paid-up capital.

A gentleman who acts as auditor to many of these companies, being applied to for information, wrote as follows:—

"We have no tabular record of the dividends paid by the cotton companies, but the following is a general view of the case: In 1860 we had only two or three companies working in this neighbourhood (Rossendale), but they paid very large dividends—in one instance nearly reaching fifty per cent per annum. In 1861, the first year of the American war, there were a great number of new companies started. Many of these companies had mills to build, but some began to work places already built, and for the last four years the dividends have shown no regularity. The results in the cotton trade have depended so much more upon skilful buying and selling, than upon the daily margin between the raw material and the finished article, that dividends as high as thirty per cent have been made in some instances, whilst very serious losses have occurred in others, and in the most irregular manner, for the last three years. 1864 has been the worst year for losses, especially where there has been a stint of capital; and the companies have seen their error in paying such large dividends heretofore, instead of keeping the money in the establishments, which I always insist upon as essential to the stability of trading companies."

In a third case, where nearly £90,000 has been invested in a very large mill, nearly one-half the capital consists of loans at call; and when the whole of the loans could easily have been converted into shares, the shareholders refused to allow it, because they hoped, by paying five per cent for loans, to be able to divide thirty or forty per cent amongst themselves. The panic came, and many a shareholder, being left without dividend, and with increasing

liabilities, has since bitterly rued his opposition to the proposed conversion when it was possible, and will be quite willing to exchange his trembling anxiety for a moderate dividend, when prosperity returns.

In a fourth case, where a large mill had been commenced, the panic stopped the share contributions, so the building was mortgaged to enable the contractor to be paid, and the mill was thus got to work; but the first serious fall in the prices of yarns brought down the company, which is now winding up in chancery, whilst its secretary is imprisoned on a charge of embezzlement.

In a rapidly increasing and commercial country, the greatest of all facilities for progress is the railway system. The cost of transport is really one of the costs of the production of goods, and an increased facility of transmission is equivalent to a reduction of prices, because the freight is lower; and the certainty of receiving goods when required, enables the shopkeeper to economise his capital, by sending frequently to market instead of holding a heavy stock. Railways are continually extending, opening up new fields of enterprise by branch lines, enlarging and improving terminal and other stations, increasing the lines of rails and adding to rolling stock; and yet they never seem, in the manufacturing districts, to overtake the demands of the public. Railway travelling has, like tea and coffee, become one of the necessaries of life, and the occurrence of an annual holiday despatches heavily laden trains from every large town to the extreme ends of the kingdom. Great therefore must be the pressure to produce a reduction in the year's traffic receipts upon a long line of railway; especially, when the trouble of one locality only adds to the prosperity of another portion of the same system.

The cotton famine in Lancashire led naturally and necessarily to the substitution of woollen and worsted for cotton fabrics, so far as prices would allow; and the concurrence of the very high prices of raw silk, also helped the trade of Yorkshire; and gave a much larger traffic to and from the towns of Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Barnsley, and Huddersfield, than they had ever known before. Yet the goods traffic, exclusive of minerals, over the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, for 1862-4, shows a large reduction from the traffic of 1861. We append the returns :—

GOODS TRAFFIC, EXCLUSIVE OF MINERALS.

	Tons.		
Half-year ending December 31, 1860	1,410,276		
,, ,, June 30, 1861 .	1,393,433		
	2,803,709		
Half-year ending December 31, 1861	1,390,706		
,, ,, June 30, 1862 .	1,189,180		
	2,579,886	Decrease	Tons. 223,823
Half-year ending December 31, 1862	1,226,005		
,, ,, June 30, 1863 .	1,213,152		
	2,439,157	Decrease	364,552
Half-year ending December 31, 1863	1,373,268		
,, ,, June 30, 1864 .	1,390,820		
	2,764,088	Decrease	39,621
		Total	627,996

PASSENGER TRAFFIC.

	Passengers.		
Half-year ending December 31, 1860	8,395,165		
,, ,, June 30, 1861 .	7,637,904		
	16,033,069		
Half-year ending December 31, 1861	8,390,581		
,, ,, June 30, 1862 .	6,905,159		
	15,295,740	Decrease	Passengers. 737,329
Half-year ending December 31, 1862	7,933,116		
,, ,, June 30, 1863 .	7,312,685		
	15,245,801	Decrease	787,268
			1,524,597
Half-year ending December 31, 1863	8,701,215		
,, ,, June 30, 1864 .	8,201,876		
	16,903,091	Increase	870,022

A decrease of two-thirds of a million of tons, spread over three years, is an unmistakable indication of severe pressure; for, in a healthy trade, the traffic would have increased seven per cent at least per annum.

Analysing the passenger traffic, we find that in first-class there has been a regular increase, arising from the lessened occupation of manufacturers in their ordinary vocation; and also from the more frequent visits of those who continued working, to the markets of Manchester and Liverpool.

First-class Passengers.

1860-1.	1861-2.	1862-3.	1863-4.
1,715,716	1,745,341	1,797,992	1,961,789

In the second-class passenger returns, the case was very different. They were—

1860-1.	1861-2.	1862-3.	1863-4.
3,900,305	3,636,566	3,453,524	3,817,202

Showing a decrease in the three years of seven hundred and ninety-three thousand six hundred and twenty-three passengers. And in the third class there is a decrease in the two years 1861-3 of nine hundred and twenty-five thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight; and then in 1863-4 an increase, compared with 1860-1, of seven hundred thousand and fifty-two passengers, a result which might be expected from the improving circumstances of the operatives, and from the depression of shopkeepers and others, driving them to the cheapest mode of conveyance.

Of course such a decrease in traffic made its mark in the cash accounts of the company. The total receipts were—

1860-1.	1861-2.	1862-3.	1863-4.
£1,982,362	£1,799,852	£1,767,542	£1,957.566

Showing a deficit on the three years, as compared with 1860-1, of £422,126, instead of an increase of about £400,000, which ordinary trade would have given; and the successive dividends sympathised with the changing fortunes of the company. They were as follow:

December, 1860—6 per cent.	June, 1861—5½ per cent.
,, 1861—5 ,,	,, 1862—3¼ ,,
,, 1862—4 ,,	,, 1863—4¼ ,,
,, 1863—4¾ ,,	,, 1864—5¾ ,,

The London and North-Western company declined to accede to a request to furnish their local traffic returns; but it may be stated, without fear of contradiction, that, had they been furnished, they would have fully confirmed the evidence above given, as to the severity of the crisis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Effects of the Cotton Famine on Marriages—Tabular Return, 1861-4—Illegitimate Births, 1861-4—Special Return—Comparative Illegitimate Births in England and Wales and in Lancashire—The Factory System not specially promotive of Sexual Immorality—Prostitution in various Districts—Slow Improvement—Effects of the Crisis on Crime in Lancashire—Percentages of Crime in various Districts—Excess of Female Crime in Lancashire and its Probable Cause.

It is related that, during the year 1800, when the sixpenny loaf was about the size of a man's fist, and almost as black as coal, a young couple were engaged in the marriage ceremony in a village church, when a hoarse voice called out, through a hole in the window, to ask if that "young fool knew that a pound of bread cost a shilling." The brawler evidently thought that marriage ought to be postponed until more prosperous times, and the prevalence of similar opinions in the present day, is proved by the fact that the percentage of marriages has long been considered a good indicator of the prosperity and adversity of the people. A man of ordinary prudence will not enter upon the married state without a fair prospect of a living; but hope tells a flattering tale, and the future presents a very different phase to the intending bridegroom, to that which is seen through any other than the lover's lens; so that the trouble which makes much difference to the marriage barometer, must be very real and heartfelt. It will be instructive, therefore, to turn to the marriage registers of the cotton districts, to learn how affianced lovers viewed the cotton famine, and what alterations it made in their arrangements.

Tried by this severe test, we find that the marriages celebrated in the various quarters of 1861, 1862, 1863, and 1864, were as follows:—

Marriages Celebrated in the Cotton Districts.

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
March quarter . . .	4,527	3,927	4,073	4,032
June quarter . . .	4,870	4,243	4,608	4,780
September quarter . .	4,915	4,126	4,611	4,512
December quarter . .	4,843	3,967	4,941	4,166
Total for the year .	19,155	16,263	18,233	17,490

So that nearly six thousand persons, who, under ordinary circumstances, would have entered into the marriage state in 1862, had their hopes blighted, and their prospects of mutual happiness destroyed; or were at best obliged to console themselves with the "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick." Many of them, instead of occupying their own neat cottages, probably became dependent upon the charitable dole of relief committees, or even upon the grudging allowances of the poor-law guardians; and the year 1863, instead of making up for this deficiency, added nearly two thousand more to the list of the disappointed and despairing young people, who ought to have begun life on their own accounts; to have enjoyed the rights of citizenship, and to have borne their share of its responsibilities. Nor was hope restored with the spring of 1864, for the marriages were still five hundred below the corresponding quarter of 1861. Again, a thousand loving hearts were kept asunder by the grim spectre, want; and pining and despairing solitude ruled, where sweet communion should have been. These phases of trouble do not appear upon the surface, and cannot be estimated in pounds sterling; but the fainting, dragging misery, the separations for ever, and the broken hearts arising out of years of disappointment, are not less real, because they refuse to submit to tabulation; and, however blunt and rude the expressions of the sufferers, the feeling would not be much less keen amongst the thousands of cotton operatives, whose prospects in life were thus blighted, than it would have been in the same number of a more highly educated class. Of course, some allowance is to be made for the decrease of population by emigration and migration; but, assuming these causes to have removed thirty thousand persons from the cotton districts, the proportion would be about one in sixty-six of the population; whilst the decrease of marriages was one in thirteen and a quarter in 1862, and one in twenty-nine in 1863, as compared with 1861; and instead of these being made up in 1864, there was a further decrease in the first two quarters as compared with 1861, of five hundred and thirty-five, or one in fifteen; and the decrease on the whole year was one thousand six hundred and sixty-five, making the total decrease on the three years, five thousand four hundred and seventy-nine. That the affliction was nobly borne, is evidenced by another fact, which speaks volumes in favour of the sufferers The returns of illegi-

timate births show clearly that these abstainers from marriage were in the main prudent, moral, and well-conducted people. Men of strong animal passions would probably abstain from the responsibilities of married life under circumstances of great penury, but they would not in consequence restrain themselves from the indulgence of sexual passion; and girls, whose daily life is passed in the semi-tropical temperature of a cotton mill, with its tendency to early puberty, would, unless kept in good training, be likely to give way to temptation; but the following tables, contributed specially by the registrar-general, will show that, although the abstinence from marriage was so extensive, yet sexual immorality was but very slightly increased.

NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS REGISTERED IN EACH OF THE YEARS 1861-3.

Districts.	Years. 1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
Ashton-under-Lyne	316	342	372	296
Barton-upon-Irwell	99	96	86	98
Blackburn	266	287	277	261
Bolton	401	412	417	375
Burnley	242	236	248	223
Bury	186	221	276	227
Chorley	143	128	143	125
Chorlton	367	418	425	399
Clitheroe	44	44	41	35
Fylde	80	80	65	88
Garstang	30	32	35	30
*Glossop (sub-district)	47	46	42	9
Haslingden	139	138	129	148
Lancaster	66	101	73	100
Leigh	154	145	151	153
Macclesfield	172	235	197	225
Manchester (including Prestwich)	633	616	658	586
Oldham	253	254	235	260
Preston	346	366	382	375
†Prestwich. This sub-district is comprised in the Manchester district *(see note)*	—	—	—	—
Rochdale	175	180	200	171
Saddleworth	27	41	35	45
Salford	276	294	273	268
Carried forward	4,462	4,712	4,760	4,497

* Glossop is one of the sub-districts of Hayfield union or district; but the numbers in this table include *only* the illegitimate births in the Glossop *sub-district.*

† Prestwich (sub-district of), which is comprised in Manchester district, had thirteen, sixteen, and fourteen illegitimate births registered in the three years 1861-3 respectively.

Districts.	Years. 1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
Brought forward .	4,462	4,712	4,760	4,497
Skipton	80	75	85	84
Stockport	240	250	255	202
Todmorden	68	61	66	73
Warrington	111	100	107	106
Wigan	457	508	462	544
	5,408	5,706	5,735	5,536

George Hobson, registrar-general.

General Register Office, Somerset House, 15th December, 1864.

Thus, whilst the marriages in 1862 were two thousand eight hundred and ninety-two less than in 1861, the illegitimate births had increased by 288 only, more than one-third of this increase being in places scarcely affected by the cotton famine; and when 1863 had further increased the list of abstainers from marriage by nine hundred and twenty-two cases, making the total decrease on the two years three thousand eight hundred and fourteen, the total increase of illegitimate births was only six hundred and five, or one to each 6·3 cases of deferred marriage; and the returns for 1864 still maintain this pleasing feature. Probably much of this result is due to the influence and discipline of the sewing schools; and the ladies who devoted their time and talents to the instruction and amusement of the poor girls, whose education had hitherto comprised no domestic accomplishment, may congratulate themselves that they have not only fitted many thousands for the performance of important home duties, and thus enabled them to render home attractive to their future husbands; but that they have also, by their inspiring presence, their kindly interest, their genteel manners, and their insensible moral influence, saved thousands also from irretrievable ruin.

It is very common for strangers to the factory system to suppose that the employment is productive of great sexual immorality, but the official returns give no countenance to the prejudice. The following table is from the census of 1861:—

Proportion of Illegitimate Births from 1851 to 1860.

	Born in Wedlock.	Born out of Wedlock.	Percentage of Bastardy.
England and Wales . .	6,048,479	423,171	6·99
Lancashire . . .	788,596	57,366	7·27

So that with all the evil influences of the factory system, and the overcrowding in large towns, Lancashire illegitimacy is only 0·28 per cent above the average of the whole of England and Wales. The following return, extracted from the judicial statistics, will show the variations in the different districts of the country :—

PERCENTAGES OF ILLEGITIMACY IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1851 TO 1860.

London	4·2	
South-Eastern counties	6·5	
South-Western counties	6·5	
West-Midland counties	6.9	
South-Midland counties	7·1	Average of the whole, 7·7 per cent.
Monmouth and Wales	7·3	
North-Western counties	7·4	
Yorkshire	7·6	
Northern counties	7·8	
North-Midland counties	8·8	

Thus Lancashire and Cheshire are exceeded in their proportion of illegitimacy by Yorkshire, and also by the northern and north-midland counties, where the employment of women and girls in factories is not nearly so extensive ; and it is very likely that the non-compulsory powers of the Registration Act, will lead to errors which will render the returns for the metropolis unreliable.

Of course, the returns of illegitimate births are far from conclusive as to the effects of the cotton crisis on morality ; the letters of "A Lancashire Lad" to *The Times*, and the communications of various correspondents to local newspapers, all pointed out the probability of greatly increased prostitution, unless the guardians and relief committees were liberal in their allowances. The condition of the milliners, the waistcoat makers, and shirt makers of the metropolis, furnish proof enough that the fear was not imaginary, and the following table will show that effective means were adopted to prevent the growth of the evil in the cotton districts. The woollen towns appear to have least prostitution, and second on the list come the cotton districts ; and the return shows an actual decrease of prostitution during the pressure of distress. Higher evidence there could not be of the guiding care which piloted the people through the depths of their trouble, than these simple figures give. Seduction and want are the two fruitful causes of permanent pauperism, and here there have been blighted

hopes and hard penury for three long years, opening the road for the tempter, and yet without any sensible moral deterioration :—

Proportion of Prostitutes in Various Districts, 1860-1-2-3.

	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.
Woollen towns . . .	1 in 598·8	564·0	609·4	590·1
Cotton towns . . .	1 in 506·4	541·7	524·5	531 1
Hardware towns . .	1 in 423·3	499·0	635·5	587·3
Metropolis	1 in 366·8	452·2	574·5	576·3
Mixed textiles . . .	1 in 357·2	462·1	483·5	494·0
Pleasure towns . . .	1 in 248·2	246·8	252·3	247·5
Agricultural towns . .	1 in 241·0	268.4	258·6	271·6
Commercial ports . .	1 in 182·0	216·0	213·7	223·3
Totals . . .	1 in 365·4	406·2	444·0	440·1

The country is slowly improving in this sad phase of life, except in the pleasure towns; and the cotton districts, even during the distress, partake of the improvement.

There is still another aspect in which to look for depreciated morality. Famine years are generally expected to fill the prisons, and to find plenty of work for the criminal courts. Men, with whom, in the absence of a higher motive, the fear of punishment is a sufficient preventive under ordinary circumstances, break through all restraint under the pressure of want, and rush into crime. Bad trade induces stricter economy and oversight amongst employers; and officials, who, in the absence of efficient checks, have given way to temptation, are then found out; and vagrants, who during prosperity have found begging to be a better paying trade than working, feel the pressure of bad times at second hand, by the stoppage of supplies, and they resent the neglect of their old patrons by helping themselves.

But during the cotton famine, the special correspondent of *The Times*, the correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, and the special commissioner of the poor-law board, all bore testimony, in May and June, 1862, that, notwithstanding the intense pressure of distress in the principal unions, crime had decreased; and the following special return will show, that although the trouble spread and deepened up to Christmas, 1862, and continued to ebb and flow, so as not to allow more than half work in 1863-4, yet the character of the population was pretty well sustained to the end.

RETURN OF NUMBER OF PERSONS BROUGHT BEFORE THE MAGISTRATES OF THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER, IN THE DISTRICT IN CHARGE OF THE LANCASHIRE CONSTABULARY, AND IN THE UNDERMENTIONED BOROUGHS, HOLDING THEIR OWN COURTS, AND NOT IN CHARGE OF THE LANCASHIRE CONSTABULARY.

	1861.		1862.		1863.		1864.	
	Apprehended.	Summoned.	Apprehended.	Summoned.	Apprehended.	Summoned.	Apprehended.	Summoned.
Districts in charge of the Lancashire constabulary .	8,539	21,971	9,731	21,697	9,262	21,727	8,877	24,576
Ashton-under-Lyne .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Blackburn . . .	3,420		2,105		940	836	1,074	1,188
Bolton	2,277	657	2,227	611	1,939	678	2,180	510
Lancaster . . .	194	143	137	41	182	54	151	88
Liverpool . . .	19,746	23,381	23,941	12,812	26,229	11,593	25,849	11,259
Manchester . . .	8,019	2,175	9,844	2,219	9,469	2,174	10,294	2,442
Oldham	827	674	888	633	769	579	789	773
Rochdale . . .	520	1,005	594	775	537	642	527	599
Salford	1,557	2,112	1,642	2,872	1,632	3,030	1,626	2,866
Stalybridge . . .	54	248	49	160	57	95	140	117
Warrington . . .	538	704	540	532	562	531	647	546
Wigan	1,012	1,141	998	1,029	1,000	1,140	926	1,329

And here it may be remarked, that as the factory system does not seem to bear out the opinion that it is particularly promotive of sexual immorality, so the following return will show that the cotton districts are not peculiarly remarkable for a large criminal class.

PERCENTAGE OF CRIMINAL CLASS IN VARIOUS DISTRICTS, 1860-3.

	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.
Metropolis . . .	1 in 183·8	231·3	275·6	243·0
Cotton towns . . .	1 in 131·4	152·5	150·9	139·5
Mixed textiles . . .	1 in 126·7	157·8	168·2	154·4
Woollen towns . . .	1 in 121·0	129·1	179·3	128·3
Pleasure towns . . .	1 in 103·8	96·5	94·3	80·8
Commercial ports . .	1 in 99·9	120·4	111·3	116·7
Agricultural towns . .	1 in 91·5	108·5	92·6	105·8
Hardware towns . .	1 in 67·8	98·6	101·9	108·6

But there is one aspect in which the factory system exhibits a sorrowful picture. Sexual morality does not suffer materially, and general crime is not above the average; but female crime is much higher in Lancashire than in other parts of the country. Can this be the result of the demand for juvenile labour, which renders

girls independent of their parents at fifteen or sixteen years of age, and frequently takes them away from parental control? It is an important and a serious question, and worthy of prompt consideration. Can it be that progress towards the independence of women would develop vice as well as virtue, and that to render woman equal to man in power, would also render her his equal in crime? Here is a return from the judicial statistics showing—

THE PROPORTIONS OF FEMALE CRIMINALS IN 1851-60.

	Males.	Females.
1851-5—England and Wales .	107,768	30,090 or 27·8 per cent.
Lancashire . . .	11,933	4,725 or 35·9 per cent.
1856-60—England and Wales .	70,210	20,024 or 28·3 per cent.
Lancashire . . .	10,594	4,999 or 40·72 per cent.

Clearly here are deteriorating influences at work which demand careful inquiry with a view to reform. Female education is too generally neglected, and Lancashire does not differ materially in that respect from other parts of the country; but in the absence of domestic habits, resulting from the practice of leaving home at an early age to work, and which furnishes the means of living without a knowledge of and without a taste for the various duties of the household, the cotton districts are peculiar. To this peculiarity must, we fear, be traced the prevalence of female crime; and if the accomplishments of cooking and dressmaking taught in the sewing schools become permanent, another moral influence will be at work for the benefit of future generations, and another great consolation be established, to prove that out of temporary evil cometh permanent good. The eyes of philanthropists ought to be continually directed to this sad picture; and no stone should be left unturned, until the judicial statistics of Lancashire tell a different tale as to the proportion of female criminals.

CHAPTER XIX.

Gains and Losses—Consumption of Cotton in 1861 and 1862—Effects of American News on Prices—Average Condition of the Trade in 1860-2—Speculators in Cotton—Gains by Running the Blockade—Consumption of 1863—Large Extra Capital Required—Effects of Peace Rumours—Bankruptcy Return—Decreased Consumption of Indian Cotton—Condition of the Trade in 1863-4—Adulteration of Goods—The Trade Losses in Three Years—Messrs. Frazer's Circular—Mr. McHaffie on Cotton Losses.

THE consumption of cotton reached its highest point in 1860, when it was one billion eighty-three million six hundred thousand pounds, and cost £25,961,000. The raw material was then plentiful and cheap, discounts were reasonable (averaging about four and a quarter per cent), wages were high, and profits large. Every spindle and every loom were engaged, and new mills were rising in every direction. The progress in the consumption of cotton in the previous ten years had been nearly sixty per cent. About thirty-three million spindles were at work, and they were increasing at the rate of nearly twenty-one thousand per week. Of course, every effort was made to increase production, so long as it promised a profit; but apart from a fall in prices, consumption could not go on at the same rate as the production, and towards the end of the year stocks began rapidly to accumulate. If there had been no war in America, the large profits of 1859-60 would have been brought down to average by a heavy fall of prices on accumulated stocks in 1861; and these same accumulations served to prevent any serious rise in prices, either of cotton or manufactures, till after midsummer, 1861.

But the consumption of cotton fell in 1861 to one billion seven million four hundred thousand pounds, or about eight per cent; whilst the prices rose about thirteen and a half per cent, upon the average of the whole year; and as the difference between December, 1860, and June, 1861, was only three-halfpence per pound, the rise in price, reckoned upon the latter half of the year, would be equal to twenty-five per cent upon the prices of 1860.

The year 1861 was looked upon as a fair average year; for whilst there was no great room for complaints, the transactions were not such as to make producers drunk with prosperity. Measured by 1861, the doings of 1862-4 may therefore be fairly tested, and the results of the famine be seen, as it affected employers and employed.

The consumption of cotton in 1862 was four hundred and fifty-one million seven hundred thousand pounds, but it cost more by £12,989,000 than the same quantity would have done at the average prices of 1861. Thus forty-four per cent of the quantity required eighty-six per cent of the capital of 1861 to purchase it. As fully one-half of the machinery was idle, those who remained at work must either have been rich men, or must have had free recourse to the bankers, for forty-two per cent of extra capital. This element alone would add very much to the anxieties of trading; but producers care less about the prices of raw material, than for certainty as to the results of their work. But cloth was frequently sold on the same day at a less price per pound than raw cotton; and every mail from America produced violent fluctuations, so that trade became a mere lottery; but demanding much more skill and labour than if the results were, as in ordinary times, certain and profitable. The news brought by each mail was eagerly discussed on 'change; and many a wordy war was ended by a dealing in Confederate loan, as a test of the sincerity of the disputants. The weight of middle class opinion favoured the Confederates, and a Federal disaster produced a drooping market; because it was looked upon as likely to result in peace and recognition, and the opening of the cotton ports.

The following table will show the average condition of the trade in 1860-2 at a glance :—

	Middling Fair Orleans. per lb.	40's Mule Twist. per lb.	39in. Shirtings. per lb.	Margin between Cotton and Cloth. per lb.
1860.	7⅛d.	11 3/16d.	14d.	6⅞d.
1861.	9⅛d.	12d.	13⅛d.	4d.
1862.	18½d.	17 3/16d.	18¼d.	minus ¼d.

So that, measured by Orleans cotton, shirtings were upon the whole year one farthing per pound below the raw material; and any profit, and even any payment for spinning and manufacturing, was therefore entirely dependent upon the admixture of lower-quality cotton,

and upon the element of time, which might raise the price during the process. Averages give no idea of individual exertions and troubles and disappointments; but, when we know that the fluctuations in fair Dhollerah cotton were from eightpence to eighteenpence-farthing, in fair Orleans cotton from twelvepence-halfpenny to twenty-nine pence per pound, the reader will be better able to appreciate the difficulties of the trade; and to see that every considerable purchase of cotton or of yarn was at the risk of great loss, if not of positive bankruptcy.

When it became indisputably evident, by the progress of the war, that the source of eighty-five per cent of the raw material for the employment of Lancashire spindles and looms was indeed cut off, the prices of cotton rose rapidly, and immense fortunes were made by cotton holders and speculators. Tales are told of adventurous young men, each of whom in one short year converted a hundred pounds into as many thousands, by purchasing and reselling the staple from day to day, during the rise. In the Southern States of North America the price of cotton was almost nominal, and it was occasionally used as armour, for war vessels or for forts. But war material, clothing, and medicines were very soon at fabulous prices, and the prospect of gain led to the fitting out of many vessels at Liverpool and London, on purpose to run the blockade. So great was the temptation, that even New York itself contributed to the blockade-running fleet, and much smuggling is believed also to have been done across the lines of the Federal army. Between the profits on goods carried in, and on the cotton brought out of, the Confederate ports, it was calculated that one successful run out of three would make a fair return, whilst five hundred per cent profit was commonly spoken of, as the result of a single successful venture.

The Confederate government also aided this process by their cotton loan, which was borrowed mainly in this country, and made payable in cotton at fivepence per pound, at one of the Confederate ports; and they sought to restrict the trade to vessels which carried in a certain proportion of Confederate bonds, which, being discharged in cotton, enabled them to borrow again. Under these inducements, seventy-one thousand seven hundred and fifty bales of American cotton reached England in 1862; and, notwithstanding the increased severity of the blockade, as shown by the rate of insu-

rance, which stood at seventy-five per cent with twenty-five returned in case of success, yet the year 1863 brought over one hundred and thirty-one thousand nine hundred bales. The bulk of the cotton consumed was, of course, from India, and for the amount of labour employed upon it, the production was more than eleven per cent less than it would have been on American cotton; and where the Indian staple alone was used, the decreased production was fully fifteen per cent as compared with American cotton, whilst the proportion of waste was very much greater; so that to the man who on full-time formerly earned twenty shillings it gave about seventeen shillings for the same number of hours, but with the exertion of much extra care and skill.

The consumption of cotton in 1863 was five hundred and eight million four hundred thousand pounds, being about fifty per cent of the quantity used in 1861, but at a cost of £44,485,000, or one hundred and forty-one per cent more than the cost of the same quantity at that date. Still one half of the machinery was unemployed, one half of the mills were closed; but for those which remained at work an additional capital of £28,744,500 was needed, being nearly three times the amount required for the same quantity of the raw material in 1861.

It is impossible that the employers who continued working could be owners of this extra capital, for, had they been so, it would have found profitable occupation somewhere before the crisis; the bankers must therefore have supplied it, and this fact will help to explain the rise of the discount rates at the end of the year, from four to eight per cent. Employers were risking the capital of many persons who were not practically engaged in the trade, and if the much-desired peace had then been achieved in America, the fall in the prices of cotton goods would have caused wide-spread ruin in Lancashire. Peace would have added to the troubles occasioned by war, and the release of the working classes from compulsory idleness, would have necessitated a new list of employers, for many of the old ones would have been swept away. The consumption of the year exceeded that of 1862, by about thirty-three per cent, showing that the tide was slowly turning, that stocks were exhausted, and the purchasing power increased; so that under ordinary circumstances, and at normal prices, a largely increased trade would have been done.

In 1864, the prices of Orleans cotton still varied with every mail; but the news produced different effects to those which occurred earlier in the struggle. A Federal victory caused a fall instead of a rise in prices, for it was now tolerably well known, that the road to peace would only be found through the submission of the Confederacy. Every month's average was still affected by the varying fortunes of the war, and cotton drooped from January to April, rose from April to August, trembled in the balance in September, and fell sevenpence per pound from September to November, consequent on the peace rumours from Niagara Falls; and then rose again threepence per pound before the end of the year, when the negotiations had failed.

It is easy to understand how the peace rumours, with the prospect of a not distant fall to normal prices, should produce a panic, and how good and honourable men spoke of the probable cessation of the most terrible war of modern times, as a thing to be dreaded. Nor were the fears of these men groundless; for the mere rumour of peace swept down small men as grass falls beneath the scythe of the mower, until the employers of almost thirteen thousand hands, with liabilities amounting to £1,500,000, were chronicled amongst the failures; and large holders of cotton were named, whose stocks fell in a few weeks from £120,000 to £150,000 in value in each case. And besides the failures which were made public, many compositions, by private arrangement, took place; whilst bills were renewed and payments deferred to an extent never before known.

The bankruptcies registered in the court at Manchester, in the years 1861-4, were as follow:—

1861	175
1862	370
1863	261
1864	387

Upon the whole of the year, employment was somewhat more plentiful; the consumption of cotton being five hundred and sixty-one millions four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, at a cost of 53,808,000; being fifty-five per cent of the quantity, and one hundred and seventy per cent more than the cost of the same quantity in 1861. A little more than half employment in 1864 required £38,067,500 more capital than it would have done in 1861, for the use of which seven or eight per cent must have been paid;

whilst trade to the spinner and manufacturer was still a lottery, depending more upon catching the turn of the market, than upon any skill in the respective operations.

When, on the fall of Savannah, *The Times'* correspondent wrote from New York that the thirty thousand bales of cotton, announced as being captured there, would turn out to be not more than three thousand, men—whose prosperity, in ordinary times, depends upon the plentifulness and cheapness of the staple—were heard to express eager hopes that the smaller would turn out to be the correct quantity; and when peace was spoken of as probable, a manufacturer exclaimed—"If that news should come true, somebody would ha' to stick to me!" implying that there would be danger of him committing suicide.

A large proportion of the failures were amongst manufacturers (men who simply convert yarn into cloth), and the explanation is that this part of the business, in ordinary times, requires but a small amount of capital. A man who owns a few hundred pounds, rents a weaving shed, where the engines, shafting, and fixtures belong to the landlord. He fills the shed with looms, on credit for six or twelve months, buys yarn at six weeks' credit, delivers the cloth to his agent, and returns home with money for wages, and for fresh purchases of yarn. If trade be ordinarily prosperous, the goods do not lie long in stock; but if it be necessary to hold stock, the agent charges five per cent for advances, besides the ordinary commissions on sales, and for the guarantee of debts; so that if there be at any time a serious fall in prices during manufacture, or when a heavy stock is held, such a man must needs fail; and his liabilities must be shared by the spinner who supplies the warp and weft, and the agent who advances on the goods.

The moralist will of course ask, if this system be so disastrous, why do Manchester merchants not only submit to, but even encourage it? The reply is very simple. The system is occasionally disastrous, but upon the whole it is sufficiently remunerative to pay both spinners and agents. And as far as the public is concerned there is no cause of complaint; capital is economised, production and employment are increased, and goods cheapened by the process.

The *Manchester Guardian*, of 31st December, 1864, wrote as follows:—"The more sagacious seers are beginning to reason as

follows: The balance sheet of A exhibited assets equal to seven shillings and sixpence in the pound, and as the creditors agreed to take five shillings, the unfortunate man has now more capital than he ever before possessed; and may now be more safely dealt with on the old terms. In fact, that curious virtue, commercial confidence, a compound of self-interest and rashness, is once more exhibiting its marvellous power of recovery from a state of utter prostration; and will soon be seen affording the old munificent aid to the struggling occupiers of weaving sheds." But the return of confidence had another foundation besides the improved position of the compounding manufacturers. The prospect of peace was soon dissipated, and the prices of cotton rose almost as rapidly as they had fallen; and many houses which were trembling on the verge of bankruptcy, again found firm footing, and could be once more safely trusted.

Employment during the year averaged about twenty per cent more than in 1863, the weekly consumption of cotton being twenty-six thousand five hundred, against twenty-two thousand and thirty bales. More than half of the imports of 1863 were bought on speculation; but, in 1864, the proportion fell to little more than a quarter, which was a good indication of the growing healthiness of the trade. There was one remarkable feature about the cotton consumed—viz.: that the quantity of Indian cotton was decreased instead of increased. The following table will show the proportion from different countries in 1862-4:—

DELIVERIES FROM THE PORT OF LIVERPOOL AND CONSUMPTION.

Description.	Average weekly deliverics from this port to the trade.				Average weekly consumption of the United Kingdom in the years	
	To this date.			Average of 1863.		
	1864.	1863.	1862.		1863.	1862.
American . . .	3,400	2,390	3,580	2,240	2,300	3,820
Brazil	2,620	1,980	2,020	2,150	2,140	1,980
Egyptian, &c. . .	5,180	3,750	2,100	3,840	4,490	2,110
West India, &c. . .	790	860	390	930	370	460
East India, &c. . .	15,110	16,510	12,150	14,050	17,200	13,660
China and Japan . .	4,300	—	—	1,820	—	—
Total . .	31,400	25,490	20,240	25,030	26,500	22,030

Thus, whilst the imports of Indian cotton increased about eleven per cent, the deliveries to the trade actually decreased by one thousand four hundred bales per week, although the total consumption of cotton was considerably larger than in the previous year. Whatever might have been the prejudices of the trade against Indian cotton prior to the famine, spinners had been forced to buy it, and to adapt their machinery to it. Yet the very first opportunity was seized to thrust it again into the background. Experience therefore confirmed the former prejudices, and pronounced unmistakably, that unless the wealth contributed to India during the famine be used to improve the staple, the demand for Surats will shortly fall again to as low a point as ever.

The following table (supplied by Messrs. J. Munn and Co., and Messrs. Richard Haworth and Co.) will show the condition of the trade during 1863 and 1864; and it will be seen that, assuming Orleans cotton as the standard, the margin between the raw material and the cloth produced was, in 1863, very little over one penny, and in 1864, three-halfpence per pound for all the processes. On the other hand, assuming the prices of fair Dhollerah as a standard, the average margin shown is as large as is given by the Orleans standard in 1860. But cotton is almost always mixed of various qualities, and the margin in 1860 would therefore be higher than is shown in the table; whilst in the latter years it would be lower than is shown in the Dhollerah table. The mixing would vary by the introduction of from fifty to seventy per cent of Indian in many varieties of goods, and would therefore reduce the margin shown in the Dhollerah table from thirty to fifty per cent of the difference in price between the two staples upon the average; whilst the prices of goods would sometimes show as much as fourpence or fivepence per pound against the spinner and manufacturer. It does not follow that these amounts would invariably be lost, because in a rising market the element of time would often rectify the position; but in a falling market, as in the latter part of 1864, the apparent loss would not only be realised, but even exaggerated, by the lapse of time during manufacture.

PRICES PER POUND OF ORLEANS COTTON, YARN, AND CLOTH, 1863-4.

	Middling fair Orleans.	Mules, 40's good seeds.	Water Twist 16/24 20's good seeds.	39 in. 37½ yards Shirtings.		
				6 lbs.	7 lbs.	8¼ lbs.
January, 1863 . .	26·50	26	25	25	24·85	24·72
June, 1863 . . .	23	26	25·50	26·50	25 28	25·45
Average of the year .	25·25	27·62	26·75	26·66	22·09	26·39
January, 1864 . .	29·50	34	31	31·0	30·28	32·0
June, 1864 . . .	29·50	29	31	30·50	30·0	30 54
Average of the year .	28·33	28·88	29·92	29·16	29·0	29 94

PRICES OF DHOLLERAH COTTON, YARN, AND CLOTH, 1862-4.

	Dhollerah.		32's Twist.	36's Weft.	8¼ lbs. 39 in. Shirtings.
	Fair.	Good Fair.			
1862.					
March 25 . . .	8⅛	8½	15	14	10/3 = 14·9 pr. lb.
June 27 . . .	11¼	11½	16½	16	11/3 = 16·0 ,,
September 23 .	17¼	17½	26	26	18/0 = 26·1 ,,
December 23 . . .	17¼	17⅝	25	24½	17/3 = 25 0 ,,
1863.					
March 24 . . .	17	17½	23½	23¼	17/3 = 25 0 ,,
June 23 . . .	18	18½	25	25	18/6 = 26·9 ,,
September 22 . .	22	22½	30	30	19/6 = 28·9 ,,
December 22 . .	22¼	22¾	31	31	21/6 = 31·2 ,,
1864.					
March 22 . . .	22	23	30¼	30	20/0 = 29·0 ,,
June 21 . . .	21¾	22½	31½	31½	20/6 = 29/8 ,,
September 20 . .	19½	20	28	27½	20/0 = 29·0 ,,
December 20 . .	20	20½	30	29½	19/9 = 28·4 ,,

The above table will show that, with the mixture of cotton in the proportions assumed by us, notwithstanding the great number of failures which have taken place, the limited trade which has been done has, upon the whole, been remunerative. The facts thus brought out confirm the reasonable theory, that a spinner or manufacturer will only continue to work either when his trade is remunerative, or when, considering his great stake in buildings and machinery, working will be less disastrous than stopping. Any

working beyond this point must be wholly speculative, and the resulting losses must be set down to errors of judgment. Readers who wish to go more minutely into this subject will find the following table, supplied by Mr. Sam Mendel, full of interest. This table will show that most of the difference between the prices of raw cotton and calico has been absorbed by the spinners, and that from the month of June, 1863, to March, 1864, shirtings were continually below the prices of the year from which they were manufactured, and will afford further explanation why most of the failures were amongst manufacturers :—

PRICES OF 40's MULE YARN, 30's WATER TWIST, AND SHIRTIN
FURNISHED

	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.
1862.					
40's Mule, Fair Seconds. . .	$12\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{1}{4}$ $13\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{3}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{4}$ $13\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{3}{4}$ $13\frac{3}{4}$ $14\frac{1}{4}$ $14\frac{1}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{2}$ $13\frac{1}{4}$ $14\frac{1}{4}$ 14 14 14	$13\frac{1}{4}$ $13\frac{1}{2}$ 14 14 14 14 $14\frac{1}{4}$	$13\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $14\frac{1}{4}$ $14\frac{1}{4}$ $14\frac{1}{4}$
Average . . .	$13\frac{1}{4}$	$13\frac{3}{4}$	$13\frac{3}{4}$	$13\frac{3}{4}$	14
30's Water, Good Seconds, Ind. .	$13\frac{1}{4}$ 14 $14\frac{1}{2}$ $14\frac{1}{2}$ $14\frac{1}{2}$ $14\frac{3}{4}$	14 $14\frac{3}{4}$ $14\frac{3}{4}$ $14\frac{3}{4}$ 15 $15\frac{1}{4}$	$14\frac{3}{4}$ $14\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$	$14\frac{1}{2}$ $14\frac{3}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$	$14\frac{3}{4}$ 1 $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$
Average . . .	$14\frac{1}{4}$	$14\frac{3}{4}$	15	$15\frac{1}{4}$	$15\frac{1}{4}$
Shirtings, per lb.	15 $15\frac{1}{2}$ 15 15 15 15	$15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$	$15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ 15 15 15	$15\frac{1}{4}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ 15 15 $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{2}$	$15\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $15\frac{1}{2}$ $15\frac{1}{4}$ 15
Average . . .	15	$15\frac{1}{2}$	$15\frac{1}{4}$	$15\frac{1}{2}$	$15\frac{1}{4}$
1863.					
40's Mule, Fair Seconds. . .	24 24 $23\frac{1}{2}$ $23\frac{1}{2}$ $23\frac{1}{2}$ $23\frac{1}{2}$	24 23 $23\frac{1}{4}$ 23 23 23	23 25 23 $23\frac{1}{4}$ 24 24 25	25 26 25 25 26 26	26 2 26 26 26
Average . . .	$23\frac{3}{4}$	$23\frac{1}{4}$	24	$25\frac{1}{2}$	26
30's Water, Good Seconds, Ind. .	27 27 26 $25\frac{1}{2}$ $25\frac{1}{2}$ $25\frac{1}{2}$	27 27 $25\frac{3}{4}$ $25\frac{3}{4}$ $25\frac{3}{4}$ $25\frac{3}{4}$	27 27 $25\frac{3}{4}$ $25\frac{3}{4}$ 26 26 $26\frac{1}{2}$	27 25 $26\frac{1}{2}$ $26\frac{1}{2}$ 27 27	25 2 27 27 27
Average . . .	26	$26\frac{1}{4}$	$26\frac{1}{4}$	$26\frac{1}{2}$	$26\frac{1}{4}$
Shirtings, per lb.	25 $24\frac{1}{2}$ 25 $24\frac{1}{2}$ $24\frac{1}{2}$ $24\frac{1}{2}$	$24\frac{1}{2}$ 24 $24\frac{1}{2}$ 24 24 $23\frac{1}{2}$	24 25 $23\frac{1}{2}$ 24 $24\frac{1}{2}$ 24 $25\frac{1}{2}$	25 $25\frac{1}{2}$ $25\frac{1}{2}$ $25\frac{1}{2}$ $25\frac{1}{2}$ $25\frac{1}{4}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$ 2 $25\frac{1}{2}$ $25\frac{1}{2}$ 26
Average . . .	$24\frac{3}{4}$	24	$24\frac{1}{4}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$	$25\frac{3}{4}$
1864.					
40's Mule, Fair Seconds. . .	33 31 34 $33\frac{1}{2}$ 33 32	31 29 32 32 32 31	29 $27\frac{1}{2}$ 31 $29\frac{1}{2}$ $29\frac{1}{2}$ 29 29	$27\frac{1}{2}$ $28\frac{1}{2}$ 28 28 28 28	$28\frac{1}{2}$ 2 $28\frac{1}{2}$ 29 30 2
Average . . .	$32\frac{3}{4}$	$31\frac{1}{4}$	$29\frac{1}{4}$	28	29
30's Water, Good Seconds, Ind. .	32 31 35 $34\frac{1}{2}$ 34 $33\frac{1}{2}$	31 31 33 33 33 33	31 31 33 32 $32\frac{3}{4}$ $32\frac{1}{2}$ $32\frac{1}{2}$	31 32 $32\frac{1}{2}$ $32\frac{1}{2}$ 32 32	32 3 $32\frac{1}{2}$ $33\frac{1}{2}$ $33\frac{1}{2}$ 3
Average . . .	$33\frac{1}{4}$	$32\frac{1}{4}$	32	32	$32\frac{3}{4}$
Shirtings, per lb.	31 $31\frac{1}{2}$ 32 32 $30\frac{1}{2}$ $30\frac{1}{2}$	$31\frac{1}{2}$ $31\frac{1}{2}$ $30\frac{1}{2}$ $30\frac{1}{2}$ 31 $31\frac{1}{2}$	$31\frac{1}{2}$ 29 31 $30\frac{1}{2}$ $30\frac{1}{2}$ 30 $30\frac{1}{2}$	29 $29\frac{1}{2}$ 30 30 30 $29\frac{1}{2}$	$29\frac{1}{2}$ 3 31 31 31 3
Average . . .	$31\frac{1}{4}$	31	$30\frac{1}{2}$	$29\frac{3}{4}$	$30\frac{3}{4}$

The prices are given for the beginning and end of each month, and for
A lower quality of water twist ("fair seconds") is about one penny, or

EACH MONTH, FROM JANUARY, 1862, TO DECEMBER, 1864.
MENDEL, ESQ.

ıne.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
16	16 18	18 24	24 24	24 23	23 21	21 24
14½ 14½ 14¾	16 17 17 17 17¾	18 18½ 20 26	24 25 25 25 25	25 24 24 23	23 22 21 21	21 21½ 21½ 22¾ 23½
4½	17	20¾	24½	23¾	21¾	22¼
17½	17½ 20	20 30	30 30	30 29	29 24	24 27
15½ 15¾ .6½	17½ 18½ 18½ 18½ 18½	20 21 23 28	30 30 30 30 30	30 29 29½ 27¾	27¾ 27 26½ 26½	24½ 24½ 25 26 26
6	18½	23¾	30	29¼	26¾	25¼
17	17 18½	18½ 25½	25½ 25	25 24	24 23	23 25
5½ 15¾ 6½	17¼ 18 18½ 18½ 18½	19 19 20 21	26 26 26 26 26	26 26 25¾ 25	24½ 24¼ 23 23	23 23 24 24 24¾
6	18	20½	25¾	25¼	23¾	24
24	24 24	24 27½	27½ 30½	30½ 34	34 34	34 33
6 26 24½	24½ 24½ 24½ 24½	24½ 24½ 25½ 26½	27½ 27¾ 30 30 30	30 32 33 33½	33½ 33½ 33¼ 33¼	34½ 34¼ 33¾ 33 33
5¼	24¼	25½	29	32¼	33½	33½
25	25 26	26 28	28 31	31 34	34 36	36 32
7 27 26¼	26 26 26 27	27 27 27¾ 29	29 30 31 31 31	31½ 33 34½ 35¼	35¼ 35¼ 34½ 34½	36 36 35 34 34
5¼	26	27½	30¼	33¼	35	34¾
24	24 25	25 26	26 28	28 31	31 32	32 31
5 26 24¾	24¾ 24¾ 24¾ 25	25 25½ 25½ 26½	26½ 27 28 28 28½	28½ 30 31 31½	31½ 31½ 31 31	32¼ 32¼ 31½ 31½ 31½
5½	24¾	25½	27½	30	31¼	31¾
28	28 31	31 30	30 23	23 21	21 25	25 27
8½ 28½ 5½	28½ 30½ 32 32	32 32 32 32 32	31½ 29½ 27½ 24	24 23 21½ 19	21 25½ 22 26 25	26 26 26 27
¼	30¼	31½	27½	22	23¾	26¼
33	33 35	35 33	33 24	24 27	27 30	30 30
33	33 36 37 37	37 37 37 37 37	36 34½ 33 32¼	30½ 29 27 25½	27 27 27½ 30 29	30½ 30½ 30½ 31
¾	35¼	36¼	32¼	27¼	28¼	30½
31	31 32	32 32	32 24½	24½ 24	24 27½	27½ 29½
½ 30½ ½	31½ 32 32 32	32 32 32 32 32	31½ 30½ 28 26	25 25 24 22½	24 24½ 25 30 28½	29 29 29 30
½	31¾	32	28¾	24¼	26¼	29

ay during the month, with the average of each month stated beneath.
are high twopence, per pound below the quotations given herewith.

It will be noticed that in our estimates nothing is said about adulterations as an element in manufacture, and the abstinence is intentional; because, although adulteration is often profitably practised, it is yet very doubtful if, upon the whole, it adds more to the production of cloth than Indian cotton suffers by waste. There are cases where it is carried to abominable excess, as where a glazed calico has been found to possess only twenty-eight per cent of cotton. Adulteration was practised before the famine, and will no doubt continue after it; and we may as well assume that the reply of an agent to a buyer, overheard on 'change by the author, is expressive of a too common practice. Complaint had been made of adulteration, and the agent, touching the complainant on the shoulder as he turned away, replied, "There's just one thing I want to say to you; our cloth is weighted to as great an extent as it will hold." "I've no doubt of it," said the customer, interrupting the agent, who then continued, "and it always was." And a man who at one time was engaged in selling adulterants, has since produced a book, in which he gives anecdotes of various manufacturers to whom he offered his wares, extolling their qualities for the great weight which they would add to goods. In some cases he met with indignant refusals to purchase, whilst in others his reception was cordial, and the result of such a visit is fairly illustrated by a manufacturer who said, "Well, if it'll do what yo sen, it's just th' stuff we're wantin'; for we need summat to mak cloth on, now cotton's so dear." It may safely be affirmed that with some people the practice of adulteration will only be diminished by the application of a test which, discovering its extent, will make a proportionate discount in price, so as to prevent it from paying the manufacturer.

Calculations upon the foregoing facts enable us to construct the following table of losses, based upon the trade and prices of 1861 :—

Excess paid for cotton in 1862 over cost of the same quantity in 1861					£12,989,000
,,	,,	1863	,,	,,	,, 27,605,000
,,	,,	1864	,,	,,	,, 35,252,000
		Total for three years . . .			3) 75,846,000
		Average excess per annum . .			£25,282,000

The excessive amount of capital employed for the same amount of production was therefore more than £25,000,000 per annum. We turn now to the receipts for exports, to enable us to get a clear view of the position of the trade during these three years, and find that—

The excess received for yarns exported in 1862 over the price of the same quantity in 1861 was	£1,330,000
The excess received for yarns exported in 1863 over the price of the same quantity in 1861 was	4,100,000
The excess received for yarns exported in 1864 over the price of the same quantity in 1861 was	5,215,000
The excess received for piece goods exported in 1862 over the price of the same quantity in 1861 was	4,920,000
The excess received for piece goods exported in 1863 over the price of the same quantity in 1861 was	13,464,000
The excess received for piece goods exported in 1864 over the price of the same quantity in 1861 was	20,146,000
	49,175,000
Add three-fifths for the quantity consumed at home	29,505,000
	78,680,000
Deduct, for interest on extra capital, at five per cent	3,792,300
	£74,887,700

So that, without any allowance for increased rates of discount, the profit for the amount of trade done was £958,300 less than it would have been in 1861. Bankers and agents made more profit than usual, and the merchants who held stock during the rise would also realise very largely; but a large proportion of what was so gained, would have to be deducted from the shares of the spinners and manufacturers, the majority of whom are unable to bear much stock, and would not participate in the gains thereon.

An average of one-half the production of 1861 gave during three years nearly £500,000 less profit per annum than the transactions of one-half of 1861 had produced. Mr. Bazley reckons the profits of 1861 at £18,000,000; so that, according to his calculation, the lessened profits of the trade for three years would amount to £28,500,000. According to the same authority, the wages paid in 1861 amounted to £22,000,000; so that the absolute loss of the working classes for three years would be £33,000,000; thus—

Employers' losses, three years, at £9,500,000	£28,500,000
Workpeople's losses, three years, at £11,000,000 . . .	33,000,000
	61,500,000
Add shopkeepers' losses on wages, at ten per cent .	3,300,000
Add shopkeepers' losses on half employers' profits .	1,425,000
Total loss on three years . .	£66,225,000

The difference between a good harvest and a bad one in England and Wales, has been estimated at £20,000,000, or twenty shillings

per head upon the population; here in the cotton famine we have had, therefore, the effects of three bad harvests in succession, concentrated upon one-tenth of the population; being equivalent to a loss of £10 per head per annum throughout Lancashire, up to the end of 1864. Nor is the loss yet at an end, for although most of the hands are now (October, 1865) in employment, yet the production does not exceed four-fifths of the average of 1861. How is it possible for any statistics, or for any pen, however eloquent, to describe the effects of such a calamity? How possible to trace the destitution, spreading like a plague from house to house, and from street to street, in every town and village; beginning with the careless and improvident, and gradually involving the prudent man, who had hitherto toiled like a giant to keep up the respectability of a large young family; and whose children, when his mule has ceased to revolve, or his loom to weave, first lose the care of the schoolmaster; then eat up the club money; then consume the savings bank fund, and the shares in the co-operative store; till at last the pictures which adorned the walls, the extra tables and guests' chairs, and every bit of furniture which can possibly be done without, including even the few favourite books, are all gone for food; and the proud, prudent, intelligent man is found side by side, at the relief committee or the board of guardians, with his idle, improvident neighbour; who has worked only when his choice was between the mill and the stone yard, and whose children have always been left to the education of the streets, with the almost certain result of being enlisted into the armies of future paupers or criminals? Lancashire has seen tens of thousands of such cases; and we have to thank the various influences which have enabled men to see and appreciate the great cause of their trouble, for the patience with which it has been borne; and for the smallness of the permanent pauperism and immorality, which have resulted from it. That our estimate of loss is not overdrawn will be seen from the following extract, taken from the trade report of Messrs. Frazer, Son, and Co. :—

"Taking the board of trade returns of the exports of cotton goods and yarn for the last five years, and adding to them an estimate of the amount consumed at home, which we will take at one-third the exports, we obtain a rough approximation to the whole value of the cotton manufactures of Great Britain. If we deduct from this the

price paid by our spinners for the raw material consumed, we obtain the amount of profit which the internal industry of the country reaps from the trade. The following tables exhibit the diminution of this profit :—

	1860.	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
Export of cotton goods and yarns .	52,000,000	47,000,000	37,000,000	47,000,000	56,000,000
Add one-third for home consumption	17,000,000	16,000,000	12,000,000	16,000,000	19,000,000
Total value of production . . .	69,000,000	63,000,000	49,000,000	63,000,000	75,000,000
Estimated price paid by the trade for the raw material consumed . .	29,000,000	35,000,000	27,000,000	42,000,000	53,000,000
Profit to the country	40,000,000	28,000,000	22,000,000	21,000,000	22,000,000

"From these figures it will be seen that, in 1860, a sum of £40,000,000 was distributed among the industrious population of Lancashire, engaged in the cotton trade or the branches dependent upon it. During the last three years this amount has declined to to about one-half. Of course there are many modifying circumstances which might be mentioned, such as the profit made upon old stocks held when the war commenced. But, again, it must be remembered that the exports of 1861 and 1862 were greatly swollen by the shipments of these stocks, and represent more than the real production for these years. Taking all into account, and making allowance for 1860 being a year of remarkable prosperity, it seems fair to assume that the manufacturing industry of Lancashire has suffered to the extent of £15,000,000 per annum, or more, for the last four years, in consequence of the stoppage of the cotton trade with the Southern States; and it is evident that, if this exhausting drain upon its capital continues for another year or two, serious consequences must follow, in the shape of commercial embarrassment and want of credit. The crisis hitherto has been borne wonderfully well, but the day of trial is not yet over."

This report appeared at the end of 1864, and it will be interesting now to learn to what extent any modifying influences have affected the results indicated. The gains on stocks would, for the most part, go to the merchants rather than to the manufacturers; whilst the gains and losses on cotton, would be shared mainly by

the importers and the larger spinners, who, if they do not directly import, yet time their purchases, so as to hold or run out of stock, according to their judgment of the future. The main portion of the trade—composed of small capitalists, who can neither afford to speculate in cotton nor to hold stocks of goods—must gain or lose according to the turn of the market during the conversion of cotton into cloth ; or, at the utmost, during the time in which their agents are able or willing to advance upon goods ; so that the results of speculation will scarcely affect either them or the operatives, except very indirectly.

Cotton did not rise much in price till the latter half of 1861, when the stock on hand was reckoned by Messrs. Chambers, Holder, and Co., of Liverpool, at six hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred bales. The imports of East Indian in that year had risen from five hundred and sixty-two thousand six hundred and seventy-four, to nine hundred and eighty-six thousand two hundred and ninety bales; and, knowing the distaste in which this cotton was held, we may safely assume that it made three-fourths of the stock at the end of the year. Then, assuming three-fourths of the stock at the end of 1861 to have been bought at the medium price of Indian for that year (6⅝d.), and sold at the medium price of 1862 (13⅛d. per pound), there would be to the holders and various dealers in this stock, a profit of £5,791,050 ; and, assuming the remaining fourth of the stock to be American, there would be on that portion £3,168,703 ; making a total profit of £8,959,753 upon the stock of cotton. The stock of goods on hand at the end of 1861 was estimated at three hundred million bales. Assuming that the transactions in shirtings fairly represented this stock, and seeing that their price varied from fifteenpence per pound in January, to twenty-five pence three farthings in September, we may fairly estimate an average gain to the holders of stock of sixpence per pound, or a total gain upon the stock of goods of £7,500,000. So that cotton speculators, merchants, and other holders of stock, would divide amongst them about £17,000,000, which gain, or so much of it as is retained, it may be hoped, will hereafter produce fruit in the shape of productive employment for Lancashire operatives. But the gains of 1862 have had to stand the chances of the intervening years, and have been seriously diminished by the losses of 1865.

Mr. McHaffie, of Manchester, wrote as follows, on 3rd April, in reference to the losses on cotton and goods during the first three months of 1865 :—

"What has been the loss on cotton during the first three months of this year? I will class the loss under two heads—1st, loss on cotton gone into use at a fall on its value since 31st December, 1864; 2nd, loss on cotton imported this year, and now in stock. I am aware that the first item will not give the full extent of the fall, as much of the cotton in stock on 31st December cost more than the price of that day; but I prefer to be under in my estimates, rather than in excess. The following table gives the three months' consumption and export of each kind by itself, and shows the quantity taken in each month :—

Bales from Liverpool.	American.	Brazil.	Egyptian.	West India, &c.	East India.	China, &c	Total.
January—							
Taken by Trade . .	6,220	6,370	15,750	1,630	31,290	9,640	70,900
,, for Export .	1,378	1,695	738	118	17,893	2,506	24,328
February—	7,598	8,065	16,488	1,748	49,183	12,146	95,228
Taken by Trade . .	9,510	8,590	19,700	1,560	43,640	13,360	96,360
,, for Export .	772	2,326	494	26	11,779	2,762	18,159
March—	17,880	18,981	36,682	3,334	104,602	28,268	209,747
Taken by Trade . .	15,310	8,580	36,190	5,770	64,140	19,420	149,410
,, for Export .	1,415	1,259	1,278	858	17,311	2,837	34,958
	34,605	28,820	74,150	9,962	186,053	50,525	394,115

"Starting with 1st January, 1865 : The fall in middling Orleans was, in January, 2¾d.; in February, 4¾d.; in March, 4¼d.; total, 11¾d. In Brazil, taking fair Pernambuco as a guide, the fall in January was 3¼d.; February, 5d.; March, 4¼d.; total, 12½d. In fair Egyptian, fall in January, 3¾d.; February, 5½d.; March, 3¾d.; total, 13d. In fair West India, fall in January, 3½d.; February, 5d.; March, 4½d.; total, 13d. In Dhollerah (East India), January, 2d.; February, 2½d.; March, 4¾d.; total, 9¼d. And in fair China, the fall in January, 2¾d.; February, 1¾d.; March, 2¾d.; total, 7¼d. It will not do to calculate the entire depreciation on this cotton, as it went into use on a graduated scale of loss; but the following calculation is as fair as can be :—The consumption in February

much exceeded January, and the fall was also much heavier. I add the decline in January and February together, and then take two-thirds of the fall as the real loss incurred; while for March I take a fair average of the five weeks' fall added to the former decline. The statement will then stand as follows, viz., loss on cotton used:—

From Liverpool.	Gone into use, Jan and Feb.	Fall per lb.	Value.	Gone into use, March.	Fall per lb.	Value.	Total Value.
lbs.	Bales.		£	Bales.		£	£
American . 440	17,880	5	163,900	16,725	7¾	238,051	401,951
Brazil . . . 180	18,981	5	71,173	9,839	7½	55,344	126,517
Egyptian . . 500	36,682	6½	496,735	37,468	8½	663,495	1,160,230
West India, &c. 200	3,334	6	16,670	6,628	8½	46,948	63,618
East India, &c. 350	104,602	3	457,635	81,451	6	712,696	1,170,331
China, &c. . 240	28,268	3	84,858	22,257	4½	100,155	185,013
			£1,290.971			£1,816,689	£3,107,660

"This is the first item of loss, but the second is much heavier, viz., the loss on imports during the three months and now on hand. With the single exception of Egyptian cotton, to the market for which we have had telegraphic communication all along open, I am perfectly safe in saying that all the cotton imported this year, and now on hand, cost at least the prices of 31st December, 1864, here; and we have yet to get from some of our distant markets, cotton that will have been shipped in December at these rates. The following table shows losses:—

	Stock in Liverpool, same date, 1864.	Stock in Liverpool, March 31, 1865.	Fall since January 1, 1865.	Total Loss on Stock.
lbs.	Bales.	Bales.		£
American . . . 440	27,910	48,650	11¾d.	1,058,002
Brazil 180	15,500	63,940	12½d.	599,354
*Egyptian . . . 500	44,170	77,870	13d., taken as 9d.	1,460,062
Turkey, &c. . . 350	9,160	16,200	9d.	210,125
West India, &c. . . 200	3,360	12,840	13d.	139,100
East India . . . 350	130,630	274,940	9¼d.	3,707,637
China and Japan . 240	66,330	85,570	7¼d.	620,382
	297,060	580,010		£7,794,662

* Egyptian taken at only two-thirds of the fall.

"In giving the fall in prices, I have taken as a standard, at both dates, middling Orleans, fair Pernambuco, fair Egyptian, fair West India, fair Dhollerah, and fair China. I have now brought the loss up to £10,902,322; but I have still to add the loss on stock in London:—One hundred and four thousand and twenty-one bales East India, of three hundred and fifty pounds, at 9¼d., £1,403,199; eighteen thousand three hundred and ninety-two bales China, of two hundred and forty pounds, at 7¼d., £133,342; and two thousand five hundred and fifty bales Brazil, say of one hundred and eighty pounds, at one shilling, £22,250. These, added to the former amounts of loss, give a grand result of £12,461,113."

If these calculations be reliable (and they have not been contradicted), the gains on the stock of 1861 have been nearly balanced by the losses of three months in 1865, the balance remaining to credit being only £3,500,000. And a similar process has been in operation in the goods market, although to a much less extent, in consequence of the diminished stocks; so that, taken upon the whole, no very great proportion of the great profits realised upon stocks in 1862-3 remain in Lancashire. The operations of the bankruptcy court are proof that the losses have not fallen upon the shoulders of those who were best able to bear them; and it is certain that some of the fortunate speculators for the rise, have escaped any serious losses by the fall. But, apart altogether from the results of speculation, our calculations show a nett loss by decreased trade of £66,225,000. How far this loss has been compensated to the employer class by other investments it is impossible to say; but about one-half of the loss has been in wages, for which the only compensations have been £2,857,460 in extra relief by boards of guardians and by relief committees, the sums distributed in private charity, the provision of employment under the Public Works Act, and the labour at other occupations, found by the operatives themselves.

The numbers of operatives out of employment, the stoppage of the mills and factories, the release of capital from its ordinary occupation, and the consequent losses of the cotton trade, witnessed to by relief committees, and by the increased business of the court of bankruptcy, are all demonstrable facts. The floating capital of the employer was, however, not annihilated, as is that of an individual farmer who suffers a failure of his crops, whilst the general

harvest is good; it was merely turned out of its ordinary course, and obliged either to find other occupation, or to lie unproductive, and to suffer consumption by standing charges, and by the living of its owners. We know that, apart from the great staple trade, the time of the cotton famine has been characterised by great commercial activity; that many good modes of investment have been available; and that discount rates and bank interest have ruled high; but a reference to the income-tax returns of the principal distressed townships will nevertheless surprise even the most sanguine believer in the recuperative power of capital.

Liverpool has gained immensely by the rise in the price of cotton, and individuals in various localities in Lancashire have partaken of this prosperous chance; we know also that half trade, at treble prices, has in the main paid agents and warehousemen better than full employment, at normal prices; but the reader will be surprised to learn that in Preston, where the distress was at first most severe, and where the operatives suffered heavily even to the end, the income of those who paid taxes, as shown by schedule D, for the years 1862-3-4, exceeded that of 1861 by about £18,000 per annum; that Haslingden gained nearly £4,000 per annum; whilst the same class in Blackburn seem to have lost less than £700 per annum; and Manchester less than £8,000 per annum; and that the total deficiency of income under this head, in sixteen of the principal towns and districts, compared with 1861, as calculated by the tax collected, amounts only to £2,130,336.

Of course it is both impossible and undesirable for any individual to penetrate the secrets of the inland revenue office; but the officials make no secret of the fact, that the decrease of revenue has been very large with cotton spinners and manufacturers; whilst the increase in all other branches has been so considerable, as to prevent any great loss of revenue. A few words of explanation are necessary to a full understanding of the following tables. The inland revenue commissioners say, in their report—"That the mere account of the produce of the tax does not represent the assessments of the year, because it is composed of nearly one-third of the tax from the previous year's assessment, and two-thirds of the tax of the year in question. When there has been an alteration in the rate, it is still more difficult to arrive at any conclusion from the accounts of receipts within the year." Thus the return for 1864-5 is really

made up of two-thirds of the income of 1864, and one-third of 1863; so that when we read that the Liverpool assessments, under schedule D, increased in 1864-5 by £997,000, we are to understand that one-third of that increase is due to the profits of 1863, which would include the enormous gains upon stock, which were realised towards the end of 1862.

When incomes of £150 and upwards were charged at ninepence in the pound, and lower incomes at sixpence, the produce of the lower assessment, in the Manchester district, was from five and a quarter to five and a half per cent of the whole tax; and in estimating what the produce of the later years ought to have been, we have taken the total assessments in 1861-2 and 1862-3 at eightpence-halfpenny in the pound. In consulting the following tables (supplied by the chairman of the commissioners of inland revenue), and the calculations thereon by the author, the reader must use his own judgment as to the increase which ought to have taken place in the revenue, and add that sum to the losses which are shown to have been sustained. The total increase of assessments, under schedule D, for England and Wales, in 1864, was £8,263,000; assuming the same rate to have held good for three years, then the Lancashire assessments ought to have increased by £2,478,900 since 1861, and the larger half of that increase should have accrued to the cotton trade. The nett losses of income in the sixteen districts tabulated, calculated from the taxes paid under schedule D, and based upon the amount paid in 1861, appear to have been as follow:—

Losses of Three Years.	
1862-3	£315,634
1863-4	917,018
1864-5	718,884
	£1,951,536*

* Of the above amount, more than a quarter has been lost in a group of townships which are not individually named, probably because they are so small that their publication would lead to the identification of individuals. And the losses amongst employers do not seem by any means to have followed the same track as the distress amongst the operatives. First amongst the towns which are named figures Rochdale, where there is a considerable woollen manufacture, and which exhibits a loss of nearly half a million sterling; next comes Ashton, which we should have expected to stand first, but which has lost only two-fifths as much as Rochdale; Wigan, whence the first cry of severe distress arose, stands third; followed by Bolton, where the distress was not at any time particularly severe; Oldham, where one-fourth of the inhabitants are dependent on the production of machinery, comes next; followed closely by Salford, which has suffered much more heavily than the sister borough, Manchester; Glossop, the twin sister of Ashton in the severity of the distress amongst the operatives, stands seventh; and Bury, another partially woollen manufacturing town, follows closely after. The employers of Stockport, who, judging from the progress of the town, have been less fortunate than their neighbours in past times, seem also to have suffered less during the crisis, for their borough stands ninth on the list; Burnley being tenth; whilst the losses of the remaining towns appear to have been almost insignificant. We have given the returns under the whole of the schedules, for the double reason that we avoid thereby any alteration of official returns, and provide matter which may hereafter be valuable for reference; but our own calculations are confined to the returns under schedule D, which applies in particular to incomes under trades and professions.

A RETURN OF INCOME TAX PAID IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED TOWNSHIPS UNDER SCHEDULES A. B. D. E. FOR THE YEARS 1861-2, 1862-3, 1863-4, AND 1864-5.

The first portion of these tables is supplied by the chairman of the commissioners of inland revenue; the portion beyond the double line consists of the author's calculations thereon.

PRESTON.

Year ended 5th April.	Rate of Tax.	Amount of Duty paid under Schedules				Total.	Increase of Tax compared with 1861. Schedule D.	Decrease compared with 1861. Schedule D.	Increase of Income paid upon. Schedule D.	Decrease of Income paid upon. Schedule D.
		A.	B.	D.	E.					
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£	£	£	£
1862	9d. and 6d.	10,807 0 0	16 0 0	12,469 0 0	642 0 0	23,936 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863*	9d. and 6d.	7,547 0 0	14 0 0	13,896 0 0	624 0 0	22,083 0 0	1,427	—	40,291	—
1864	7d.	6,016 0 0	10 0 0	10,299 0 0	566 0 0	16,893 0 0	31	—	1,062	—
1865	6d.	5,030 0 0	5 0 0	9,138 0 0	517 0 0	14,690 0 0	337	—	13,480	—
				BLACKBURN.						
1862	9d. and 6d.	6,798 7 8	42 10 3	8,627 7 1	168 2 10	15,636 7 10	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	6,776 16 2½	42 1 1	8,993 0 6	203 7 1	16,015 4 10½	366	—	10,344	—
1864	7d.	5,233 15 8	31 18 10	6,918 12 8	197 15 3	12,382 2 5	—	186	—	6,377
1865	6d.	4,207 14 11	23 16 5	5,944 8 9	169 8 4	10,345 8 5	—	146	—	5,840
				WIGAN.						
1862	9d. and 6d.	3,749 0 0	49 0 0	6,527 0 0	149 0 0	10,474 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	3,834 0 0	50 0 0	5,721 0 0	147 0 0	9,752 0 0	—	806	—	22,757
1864	7d.	2,949 0 0	34 0 0	3,042 0 0	101 0 0	6,126 0 0	—	2,333	—	79,988
1865	6d.	1,975 0 0	28 0 0	2,670 0 0	98 0 0	4,771 0 0	—	1,937	—	77,480

STOCKPORT.

1862	9d. and 6d.	3,101 0 0	18 0 0	3,714 0 0	121 0 0	6,955 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	3,122 0 0	18 0 0	3,214 0 0	116 0 0	6,473 0 0	—	500	—	14,117
1864	7d.	2,453 0 0	11 0 0	2,150 0 0	83 0 0	4,698 0 0	—	908	—	31,131
1865	6d.	2,132 0 0	12 0 0	1,729 0 0	80 0 0	3,955 0 0	—	892	—	35,680

BACUP.

1862	9d. and 6d.	1,483 0 0	25 0 0	1,308 0 0	5 0 0	2,821 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	1,494 0 0	22 0 0	1,370 0 0	8 0 0	2,894 0 0	62	—	1,750	—
1864	7d.	1,207 0 0	17 0 0	874 0 0	4 0 0	2,102 0 0	—	203	—	6,960
1865	6d.	1,129 0 0	15 0 0	543 0 0	3 0 0	1,690 0 0	—	380	—	15,200

BURNLEY.

1862	9d. and 6d.	2,548 0 0	43 0 0	2,865 0 0	76 0 0	5,532 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	2,588 0 0	43 0 0	2,794 0 0	105 0 0	5,530 0 0	—	71	—	2,004
1864	7d.	2,006 0 0	34 0 0	1,835 0 0	81 0 0	3,956 0 0	—	524	—	17,965
1865	6d.	1,745 0 0	29 0 0	1,498 0 0	81 0 0	3,353 0 0	—	524	—	20,960

GLOSSOP.

1862	9d. and 6d.	1,088 0 0	41 0 0	2,268 0 0	7 0 0	3,404 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	1,065 0 0	39 0 0	1,086 0 0	12 0 0	2,202 0 0	—	1,182	—	33,374
1864	7d.	817 0 0	30 0 0	570 0 0	4 0 0	1,421 0 0	—	1,279	—	44,468
1865	6d.	665 0 0	40 0 0	626 0 0	5 0 0	1,336 0 0	—	975	—	39,000

A RETURN OF INCOME TAX PAID IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED TOWNSHIPS UNDER SCHEDULES A. B. D. E. FOR THE YEARS 1861-2, 1862-3, 1863-4, AND 1864-5.

HASLINGDEN.

Year ended 5th April.	Rate of Tax.	Amount of Duty paid under Schedules				Total.	Increase of Tax compared with 1861. Schedule D.	Decrease compared with 1861. Schedule D.	Increase of Income paid upon. Schedule D.	Decrease of Income paid upon. Schedule D.
		A.	B.	D.	E.					
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£	£	£	£
1862	9d. and 6d.	986 0 0	35 0 0	1,137 0 0	16 0 0	2,174 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	1,033 0 0	32 0 0	1,416 0 0	15 0 0	2,496 0 0	279	—	7,877	—
1864	7d.	820 0 0	23 0 0	912 0 0	17 0 0	1,772 0 0	—	24	—	823
1865	6d.	794 0 0	24 0 0	738 0 0	17 0 0	1,573 0 0	—	64	—	2,560
				MANCHESTER.						
1862	9d. and 6d	93,226 0 0	—	142,934 0 0	5,867 0 0	242,027 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	93,932 0 0	—	142,125 0 0	7,059 0 0	243,116 0 0	—	2,272	—	64,150
1864	7d.	67,759 0 0	—	115,563 0 0	4,830 0 0	188,152 0 0	—	3,037	—	104,125
1865	6d.	65,115 0 0	—	106,210 0 0	4,833 0 0	176,158 0 0	3,614	—	144,560	—
				MANCHESTER—SECOND.*						
1862	9d. and 6d.	31,403 0 0	618 0 0	22,929 0 0	423 0 0	55,373 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	32,141 0 0	619 0 0	21,466 0 0	437 0 0	54,663 0 0	—	—	—	—
1864	7d.	25,734 0 0	493 0 0	17,404 5 0	342 0 0	43,973 0 0	—	—	—	—
1865	6d.	22,553 0 0	408 0 0	13,895 0 0	818 0 0	37,174 0 0	—	—	—	—

1862	9d. and 6d.	17,929 0 0	441 0 0	20,106 0 0	321 0 0	38,797 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	18,315 0 0	428 0 0	16,909 0 0	345 0 0	35,997 0 0	—	3,197	—	90,268
1864	7d.	14,157 0 0	324 0 0	11,220 0 0	254 0 0	25,955 0 0	—	5,338	—	183,017
1865	6d.	12,216 0 0	307 0 0	9,669 0 0	208 0 0	22,400 0 0	—	4,522	—	180,880

SALFORD—SALFORD HUNDRED.

1862	9d. and 6d.	25,728 0 0	795 0 0	19,953 0 0	649 0 0	47,125 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	26,090 0 0	785 0 0	19,597 0 0	646 0 0	47,118 0 0	—	356	—	10,051
1864	7d.	20,491 0 0	605 0 0	14,679 0 0	451 0 0	36,226 0 0	—	1,752	—	49,468
1865	6d.	19,020 0 0	518 0 0	12,482 0 0	433 0 0	32,453 0 0	—	1,602	—	64,080

BOLTON—SALFORD HUNDRED.

1862	9d. and 6d.	18,336 0 0	450 0 0	22,325 0 0	330 0 0	41,441 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	18,329 0 0	427 0 0	22,939 0 0	320 0 0	42,015 0 0	614	—	17,336	—
1864	7d.	14,371 0 0	343 0 0	15,493 0 0	234 0 0	30,441 0 0	—	2,892	—	81,656
1865	6d.	13,260 0 0	327 0 0	13,554 0 0	213 0 0	27,354 0 0	—	2,205	—	88,200

OLDHAM—SALFORD HUNDRED.

1862	9d. and 6d.	8,204 0 0	38 0 0	8,346 0 0	206 0 0	16,794 0 0	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	8,454 0 0	38 0 0	7,168 0 0	227 0 0	15,887 0 0	—	1,178	—	33,260
1864	7d.	6,553 0 0	29 0 0	4,556 0 0	149 0 0	11,287 0 0	—	1,317	—	45,154
1865	6d.	5,515 0 0	26 0 0	4,117 0 0	145 0 0	9,803 0 0	—	1,774	—	70,960

A RETURN OF INCOME TAX PAID IN THE UNDER-MENTIONED TOWNSHIPS UNDER SCHEDULES A. B. D. E. FOR THE YEARS 1861-2, 1862-3, 1863-4, AND 1864-5.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE—SALFORD HUNDRED.

Year ended 5th April.	Rate of Tax.	Amount of Duty paid under Schedules				Total.	Increase of Tax compared with 1861. Schedule D.	Decrease compared with 1861. Schedule D.	Increase of Income paid upon. Schedule D.	Decrease of Income paid upon. Schedule D.
		A.	B.	D.	E.					
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£	£	£	£
1862	9d. and 6d.	3,945 3 3	16 13 3	4,634 7 11	162 12 4	8,758 16 9	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	3,894 8 3½	16 7 0	3,224 18 9	156 11 5	7,292 5 5½	—	1,410	—	39,810
1864	7d.	3,001 11 7	12 13 6	1,882 18 5	123 4 11	5,020 8 5	—	3,816	—	69,737
1865	6d.	2,458 8 9	13 4 9	1,494 16 9	111 18 1	4,078 8 4	—	1,777	—	71,080
		BURY—SALFORD HUNDRED.								
1862	9d. and 6d	3,563 14 7	84 6 2	6,400 3 4	122 2 4	10,170 6 5	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	3,603 3 4	78 18 1	5,842 8 5	148 10 0	9,672 19 10	—	558	—	15,755
1864	7d.	2,808 18 1	61 5 10	3,904 16 4	108 10 0	6,883 10 3	—	1,366	—	46,834
1865	6d.	2,495 7 4	49 16 6	3,338 18 11	103 3 0	5,987 5 9	—	1,179	—	47,160
		OTHER TOWNSHIPS—SALFORD HUNDRED.								
1862	9d. and 6d.	12,522 3 11	448 0 0	13,724 10 3	115 15 11	26,810 10 1	—	—	—	—
1863	9d. and 6d.	12,700 8 2½	441 3 8	9,946 12 2½	111 13 6	23,199 17 7	—	3,778	—	106,673
1864	7d.	10,429 12 7	337 8 5	4,882 5 5	91 18 5	15,741 4 10	—	6,420	—	240,114
1865	6d.	8,487 5 0	303 14 0	3,989 17 4	81 8 1	12,862 4 5	—	5,698	—	227,920

During the cotton famine, *The Times* boasted that the cotton trade, although important, was not everything, and that it was evident the country could do without Lancashire. These income-tax returns make it evident that Lancashire capital has followed the demand, and has made profit elsewhere; and that, so far as the people who pay income tax are concerned, Lancashire itself seems as if it could almost do without its staple industry. Of course the returns given, being confined to townships, can only be understood as specimens; but assuming that they cover one-third of the cotton district, it would appear that, whilst the losses of employers in the staple trade were, up to the end of 1864, £27,000,000, the people who pay income tax had amongst them made up nearly four-fifths of the loss.

There are, however, four exceptions to be taken to the conclusions shown by these figures:—First, the losses consequent on the peace panic—which occurred in the last quarter of 1864, and which recurred on the establishment of peace in 1865—will not tell upon the income tax until the returns for 1866 and 1867. Second, great losses never show to anything like their full extent in income-tax returns. A man who has been used to pay upon £20,000, may be ruined by losing £100,000, and his return is *nil*. Yet, if there be anything left, the officers take the returns of this man for the two previous years, and charge him upon one-third of £40,000; so that the income-tax return shows a loss upon £6,667 only, not upon £120,000, which is the real loss of income. Third, the commissioners intimate that they are subject to great frauds, and it is quite possible that, where incomes are extraordinarily large, persons may not pay upon the whole: first, because they do not wish the extent of their incomes to be known: second, under the idea that, having once paid upon a large sum, it will not be easy to satisfy the officials with a less amount in future. And, Fourth, the districts of the surveyors have lately been subdivided, and it is probable that keener oversight has brought many persons upon the lists who have heretofore been overlooked.

CHAPTER XX.

The Flax Trade—Calico *versus* Linen—Irish Energy Exhibited in Flax Cultivation—Returns of Cultivation, and Imports of Flax and Yarns—Increase of Trade—Sir Robert Kane at the Society of Arts—Return of Spinning Mills, and Wages of Operatives—The Value of a Mill at Two Periods—Estimate of the Gains of Flax Spinners and Manufacturers by the Cotton Famine.

THE Irish famine of 1846, swept away tens of thousands of the people into premature graves, and drove away a peasantry, who were almost as devoted to the soil of their native land as to their natural parents, thus reducing the population of Ireland by about one fourth. Yet, in connection with this great scourge, there was one consolation; it helped to repeal the English corn laws, and to establish the Irish Encumbered Estates Court; thus equalising the price of corn, except for the differences of freight, all over the world; and furnishing the means for improvements at home, by giving good titles to land which was otherwise unsaleable. England has gained largely by the commercial policy which the Irish famine helped to inaugurate, and Ireland has got back a considerable instalment of the debt, out of the distress in Lancashire. Linen cloth, which had almost disappeared from the wardrobes and bedrooms of the middle and working classes, has again become a necessity for common wear; and it was a frequent occurrence, during the cotton famine, to see drays loaded with linen yarns in Manchester streets. In ordinary times, a calico at sixpence per yard is largely used for shirts and for sheets, but when it became necessary to pay a shilling for a worse article, people preferred to stretch a point, and buy a linen at fifteenpence, which would at once gratify the requirements of fashion, and outwear the calico. So a portion of the activity of Lancashire was transferred to South Yorkshire; and Barnsley and Keighley operatives made up by their increased activity for the enforced idleness of the weavers of Ashton, Stockport, and Wigan. "Bonnie" Dundee also gained largely by the scarcity of cotton and cotton waste; but the greatest advantage was to the

north of Ireland, where the numbers of spindles and looms rapidly increased, whilst new mills were built to meet the great demand, which arose out of the cotton famine.

Whatever may be said of the slothfulness of the inhabitants of the south and west of Ireland, no want of energy can be charged against the people of the north, for they went earnestly to work at their peculiar industry, so soon as an extra profit was tolerably certain to follow their exertions. The following table, contributed by the Belfast chamber of commerce, will show the progress of flax cultivation during the last three years :—

Years.	Acres under Flax.	Estimated Produce. Tons.	Prices. Milled per Ton.	Hand per Ton.
1861	147,957	20,000	40s. to 75s.	32s. to 52s.
1862	150,070	20,000	52s. to 85s.	42s. to 65s.
1863	214,099	60,000	52s. to 88s.	44s. to 64s.
1864	301,942	80,000	44s. to 83s.	36s. to 58s.

During the same period the imports of scutched flax and codilla of flax, into the United Kingdom were as follow :—

Years.	Cwts.	Value.	Per Cwt.
1861	1,333,679	£3,423,137	51s. 4d.
1862	1,798,351	5,205,992	57s. 10d.
1863	1,458,962	4,271,059	51s. 8d.
1864	1,842,947	5,283,260	57s. 4d.

The economy of labour in the production of linen yarns appears to have made great progress during the last decade. Ten years ago, nine or ten leas per spindle per week of No. 30's yarn was considered good work ; but in 1865 eighteen leas per week of the same number were produced. The bundle is made up of two hundred leas. In linen, as in woollen, the spindles were not equal to the work to be done ; and foreign countries were called upon for increasing quantities of yarn, the imports being in—

Years.	lbs.	Value.	Per lb.
1861	58,866	£3,268	1s. 1¼d.
1862	1,023,373	52,220	1s. 0¼d.
1863	3,997,106	145,320	0s. 8⅞d.
1864	2,040,952	142,449	1s. 3⅜d.

It is not in these islands alone that linen has taken the place of calico, for our Irish neighbours have very considerably increased their foreign trade, and are making the luxury of linen more widely known, and probably creating an enlarged permanent demand for the fruits of their industry; an operation which will be much more

serviceable to them, than either the retention of the mimic court of the viceroy, or the abolition of any one of their peculiar "grievances."

The exports of linen yarns have been as follow :—

Years.	lbs.	Value.	Per lb.
1861	27,981,042	£1,622,216	1s. 1d.
1862	32,559,244	1,852,451	1s. 1½d.
1863	38,452,030	2,530,404	1s. 3¾d.
1864	40,510,967	3,010,109	1s. 5¾d.

Thus an increased export of forty-four per cent has been established, at prices which, compared with 1861, leave a large margin of profit. A corresponding increase has also taken place in the exports of manufactured goods, as the following table will show :—

Years.	Yards.	Value.	Per Yard.	Increase in Quantity in Three Years.
1861	116,322,469	£3,852,341	7⅞d.	
1862	157,794,813	5,133,936	7⅞d.	
1863	181,637,300	6,508,953	8½d.	
1864	209,859,714	7,591,535	8⅝d.	88 per cent

Other linen manufacturing countries have felt the pressure of the cotton famine, and, although they have managed to send increased quantities of yarn to the best market in the world, have been obliged to use up at home most of the produce of their own looms. The imports of linen manufactures have been as follow :—

Years.	Value.
1861	£122,145
1862	140,784
1863	103,908
1864	140,386

Sir Robert Kane, at the the Society of Arts, 14th December, 1864, stated that in Dublin, in Cork, and in Waterford, woollen and worsted mills that had been abandoned, had resumed work, that mills already in action had augmented their numbers of looms and spindles, and new mills were being erected. Where there existed nine mills in 1851 there were forty-three in 1863.

Many mills had been altered from cotton to flax spinning and weaving, in order to meet the increased demand for linen goods. This had been the case to a great extent with the factories of Messrs. Pim, at Dublin, and Messrs. Malcolmson, at Waterford. The latter firm employed, in the manufactory and machine departments, about three thousand hands. Sir Robert gave the following return of flax spinning mills in Ireland :—

FLAX SPINNING MILLS IN IRELAND.

Year.		Spindles.	Unemployed Spindles.
1859	82 Mills containing . . .	651,872	91,230
1864	74 ,, ,, . . .	650,744	8,860
	Set to work in May, 1864. .	50,638	—
1864	Employed in making thread .	14,648	—
	5 mills erecting to contain .	45,000	—

LINEN POWER LOOMS.

Year.		Looms.	Unemployed Looms.
1859	28 factories containing . .	3,633	509
1864	42 ,, ,, . .	8,187	258
	Preparing for work in May .	1,685	—

By hand spinning and weaving, Messrs. Richardsons, of Lisburn, turned out a few years ago from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand pieces of goods in twelve months. They now deliver two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of bleached goods per annum. The return of wages quoted by Sir Robert was as follows :—

SPINNERS' WAGES.

On the domestic wheel from 2s. 6d. to 4s. per week; superior hands 6s. to 8s.

WEAVERS'.

Hand loom, 6s. to 7s. weekly; an expert girl on two power looms, 10s. per week clear.

The progress of Belfast in ten years had been as follows :—

Year.	EMPLOYMENT IN BELFAST.	Persons.
1854	Employed in Belfast and neighbourhood . .	17,000
1864	,, ,, ,, . .	25,000

The cultivation of flax received an impetus during the war with Russia, but declined again as soon as peace was proclaimed, to rise afresh with the cotton famine, as will be seen on comparing the following with a former table :—

Year.	GROWTH OF FLAX.	Acres under Cultivation.
1853	During Crimean war	174,579
1858	. . . . .	91,646
1863	. . . . .	214,099
1864	. . . . .	301,942

Which last item, at thirty-five stones per acre, would give sixty-six thousand and fifty tons of produce; and the value of the scutched flax was thus set forth :—

VALUE OF SCUTCHED FLAX.

1864	10,567,970 stones, at 7s. 6d.	£3,962,989

The increased value of linen manufactures exported, was given as follows :—

EXPORTS OF LINEN.

1863.		1861.
£8,469,036	against	£5,193,347

The machinery trade had fairly doubled in extent of business and number of hands, and wages had increased in the last two years from ten to fifteen per cent.

Lord Dufferin stated, that a mill offered for sale in 1862 for £80,000, and then declined, had since been sold for £180,000.

Ireland is clearly ahead of the linen, as Lancashire is of the cotton spinners and manufacturers of the world; and, if the energy of the last three years be permanently exerted, the Emerald Islanders are in no danger of being superseded. It may be presumed that flax at the prices of 1861 paid the farmer, as well as any other portion of his produce. And it appears that, although no very great rise in cotton took place until 1862, yet the same year established a rise of eleven shillings and threepence per ton average upon flax; and this rise added sixty-five per cent to the land under flax in 1863, and trebled the produce of the previous year. It is evident that the prospect of profit stimulated not only to an extra breadth of land being devoted to this important staple, but also to more careful cultivation, and to greater economy in the preparing processes, so as considerably to enlarge the percentage of available fibre for manufacturing purposes. A further advance of one shilling per ton took place in 1863, and the cultivation was again extended by forty per cent, giving a further increase in the yield of about thirty-three per cent. Even if this result has been attained by the substitution of flax for other crops, the farmers will have gained £70,000 thereby, over the price of the same commodity in 1861.

Assuming that the prices of 1861 paid the flax spinners and manufacturers, they will have gained, in the additional prices of yarns exported, as follows :—

1862 . . .	at ½d. per lb. . . .	£67,832
1863 . . .	at 2¾d. per lb. . . .	440,596
1864 . . .	at 4¾d. per lb. . . .	776,779
And on manufactured goods—		
1863 . . .	at ⅝d. per yard . . .	473,013
1864 . . .	at ¾d. per yard . . .	656,124
		2,414,344
And, as measured by 1861, about 4¾ years' trade has been done in 3 years; so that, assuming that 12½ per cent of the returns are profits, as in the cotton trade, we must add, at 12½ per cent on the extra trade		1,196,621
		£3,610,965

But the linen trade is done much more largely for home consumption than for export; and to get at any approximation to the real case, our calculations must include the whole of the produce. Adopting this course, and adding the imports to the computed produce of flax in Ireland for each year, we arrive at the following statement of the extra profits for the conversion of flax into yarn, viz.:—

Years.	Cwts.			
1862	2,198,351	at	4s. 8d.	£2,696,643
1863	2,658,962	at	25s. 8d.	3,412,339
1864	3,442,947	at	44s. 4d.	7,632,024
				13,741,006
Less the extra cost of home-grown flax			£70,000	
And of imported flax			1,161,689	
				1,231,689
				£12,509,317

Being the extra sum received over the prices of 1861 for the conversion of the flax into yarn. If, then, we deduct from the sum total of flax, the difference between the amounts imported, and the amounts exported as yarn, the remainder will represent the yarn left for conversion into linen thread, or into cloth. Then, if we allow one-quarter as much extra profit per pound for manufacturing, as has been secured by the flax spinners, the result will be as represented in the following proportion, viz.: As the total consumption of flax (eight millions three hundred thousand two hundred and sixty-six hundredweights) is to the amount left for manufacture (seven millions three hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and fifty-nine hundredweights), so is one-quarter of the extra profit on yarns (£3,127,329) to the extra profit on the manufacture (£2,776,926). The extra profits of the employers in the linen trade arising out of the enhanced prices caused by the cotton famine may therefore be taken roughly at £15,000,000, less fifteen or twenty per cent for waste. In addition to the profits of the employers, must be added about £3,000,000 for wages to the operatives, for the extra trade which has been done in the last four years. This total sum of fifteen millions has been shared by Yorkshire and by Scotland; but the greater portion of it has gone to Ireland; and such a gift of fortune ought, being entirely in addition to ordinary income, to be well invested, and to find permanent

employment for one hundred thousand workpeople; who, with their dependants, would represent two hundred and fifty thousand persons, rising into permanent prosperity, out of the sufferings of their Lancashire brethren.

That we have not over estimated the profits of the employers, will be proved by the following list of prices for standard linen goods, supplied by a leading manufacturer in Scotland, through Messrs. Potters and Taylor, of Manchester:—

PRICES OF TWENTY-NINE INCH THIRTY PORTER* DOWLAS.

1862.	May 8	5 1/16d.	per yard.	1863.	October 28	8d.	per yard.
	August 13	5 3/8d.	,,	1864.	January 27	7 3/8d.	,,
	September 1	5 5/8d.	,,		March 8	7 3/4d.	,,
	September 9	5 7/8d.	,,		June 20	8d.	,,
1863.	June 22	6 1/4d.	,,		July 29	8 1/8d.	,,
	August 5	6 9/16d.	,,		October 24	7 5/8d.	,,
	September 15	6 7/8d.	,,	1865.	March 21	6 3/8d.	,,
	October 12	7 3/8d.	,,		June 23	6 3/4d.	,,

PRICES OF THIRTY-TWO INCH TWENTY-TWO PORTER TOW SHEETING.

1862.	May 8	4 3/8d.	per yard.	1863.	October 28	6 7/8d.	per yard.
	August 13	4 5/8d.	,,	1864.	January 27	6 3/8d.	,,
	September 1	4 7/8d.	,,		March 8	6 5/8d.	,,
	September 9	5 1/8d.	,,		June 20	6 7/8d.	,,
1863.	June 22	5 3/8d.	,,		July 29	7d.	,,
	August 5	5 5/8d.	,,		October 24	6 1/2d.	,,
	September 15	6d.	,,	1865.	March 21	5 3/4d.	,,
	October 12	6 3/8d.	,,		June 23	6d.	,,

PRICES OF THIRTY-SIX INCH TWENTY-EIGHT PORTER BROWN FLAX SHEETING.

1862.	May 8	6 1/2d.	per yard.	1863.	October 28	9 3/4d.	per yard.
	August 13	6 11/16d.	,,	1864.	January 27	9d.	,,
	September 1	6 15/16d.	,,		March 8	9 3/8d.	,,
	September9	7 5/16d.	,,		June 20	9 3/4d.	,,
1863.	June 22	7 7/16d.	,,		July 29	9 3/4d.	,,
	August 5	7 13/16d.	,,		October 24	9 1/8d.	,,
	September 15	8 1/2d.	,,	1865.	March 21	7 5/8d.	,,
	October 12	9d.	,,		June 23	8d.	,,

* Thirty porter means thirty threads of warp to the inch in width.

These returns show a rise in price between May, 1862, and July, 1864, of about sixty per cent, so that the rise may be fairly averaged at thirty per cent over the whole period.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Woollen and Worsted Trades—Progress of Eighty-five Years—Wages in 1800, and 1833, and 1858—Mr. Baines, M.P., on the Woollen Trade—The Trouble of Lancashire the Opportunity of Yorkshire—The Increased Imports of 1862-4—Exports of Yarns and Manufactured Goods—The Price of Spinning in 1861-4—Yorkshire Gains by the Cotton Famine.

NEXT in the rate of progress to the cotton manufacture, during the present century, must rank the woollen and worsted industry of the West Riding of Yorkshire, which is its principal seat. The imports of foreign and colonial wool in 1771, were one million eight hundred and twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and seventy-two pounds; and in 1856, the amount was one hundred and sixteen million two hundred and eleven thousand three hundred and ninety-two pounds, being an increase of six thousand two hundred and fifty per cent. The total exports of raw wool, at this latter period, amounted to forty-one million fifty-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-seven pounds, leaving seventy-five million one hundred and fifty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-five pounds, in addition to the total home-growth, to be spun or manufactured.

At the beginning of the present century, the spinning of wool and worsted was all done by hand, on a single-thread wheel, and the cost for twenties yarn, as given by Mr. James, was from ninepence to a shilling per pound; the spinner earning about two shillings and sixpence per week. A girl of fifteen years, being a good spinner, would spin nine or ten hanks per day, of five hundred and sixty yards each, for a halfpenny per hank, or six shillings per gross. The first worsted mill was built in Bradford, in the year 1800, and wages about that period ranged as follows:—

Combers . . .	12s. 0d.	For a full week.
Weavers . . .	10s. 0d.	
Women, Spinners . .	2s. 0d.	
Girls, Spinners . .	1s. 6d.	

In 1819, a first-rate hand-loom weaver would weave three "plain backs" of forty set, in a week, and would earn thirteen shillings and sixpence. One power-loom will now weave five similar pieces in a week; and allowing eleven shillings and threepence for weaving, one shilling and sixpence for the cost of room and power, and two shillings and sixpence for interest of capital, the whole cost of working will be fifteen shillings and threepence, as against twenty-two shillings and sixpence by hand-loom weaving. A comparison of wages by hand and mill work in 1833 was made as follows:—

Wages by Hand Work, 1823.		Wages by Mill Work, 1833.	
		Sorters—	
Overlookers from	18s. 0d. to 26s. 0d.	Overlookers . .	40s. 0d.
Woolsorters . .	18s. 0d. to 24s. 0d.	Men	27s. 4d.
		Boys	8s. 0d.
		Combers—	
		Overlookers . .	40s. 0d.
		Men	16s. 2d.
		Boys	7s. 0d.
Warpers . . .	12s. 0d.	Preparers—	
Girls, 9 to 11 years	2s. 3d. to 3s. 9d.	Overlookers . .	27s. 0d.
Girls, 14 upwards .	8s. 0d. to 8s. 6d.	Young Women .	8s. 0d.
		Spinners—	
		Overlookers . .	25s. 0d.
		Boys . . . Girls . . .	4s. 7d.
		Reelers—	
Women, Reelers .	10s. 0d.	Overlookers . .	20s. 0d.
		Young Women .	7s. 9d.
Weavers . . .	12s. 1d. to 13s. 8d.	Warehousemen . .	18s. 0d. to 22s. 0d.

All the economy which has been effected in production in the woollen, as in the cotton manufacture, is due to machinery; for weekly wages have not suffered any depression. In 1838 the number of pieces of woollen and worsted goods exported, was one million three hundred and fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-four; and in 1856 the trade had increased to two millions two hundred and nineteen thousand and ninety pieces; an increase of sixty-three per cent in eighteen years in the export trade alone. But to form a correct estimate of progress, the increased home population supplied with woollens must also be taken into account. The increase of population was about twenty-five per cent in the period referred to; but the improved circumstances of the people would doubtless render them better customers to the woollen

merchants, and it is probable that the expansion of the home trade would be nearly as great in proportion as in the export trade. Mr. E. Baines, M.P., gives the following return of wages in 1858:—

Wages in a Leeds Woollen Factory.

200 Men	averaging 22s. 2d. weekly	£222	10 0
40 Boys	averaging 6s. 8d. weekly	13	6 8
330 Women and girls	averaging 8s. 0d. weekly	132	0 0
570		£367	16 8

Average of the whole, 12s. 11d. weekly; overlookers being excluded.

In an establishment in the shoddy district, comprising manufacturing and finishing, the average wages of five thousand four hundred and eight operatives, was fourteen shillings and a penny weekly. In a spinning mill at Pudsey the hands averaged eleven shillings and sevenpence-halfpenny; whilst in the cloth-dressing establishments at Leeds the average was fifteen shillings and tenpence per week.

"It's an ill wind that blows nobody good," says the old proverb; and the trouble of Lancashire has been the opportunity of Yorkshire. A considerable proportion of the cotton trade depends upon the cheapness of the articles produced. In ordinary times, a cotton moleskin jacket at seven shillings and sixpence would be as warm, and would give as much wear, as a coarse woollen one at twenty shillings; and the cotton garment has the further advantage that it may be washed without injury to the material. But fashion dictates the wearing of woollen garments, and if the price of the cotton jacket be materially raised, the advantage which secures its preference is lost; and the woollen garment will naturally be substituted. So whilst one-half of the machinery of Lancashire was for three years idle, every spindle and every loom in Yorkshire was increasingly busy; the absence of cotton increased the demand for woollen and worsted goods, and whilst the raw material was imported in considerably increased quantities, the demand for manufactured goods increased so greatly, as to absorb the whole supply. The quantities and prices of wool imported during the last four years were as follow:—

Imports of Foreign Wool.

Year.			Per Pound.
1861	147,172,841 lbs.	£9,717,686	15¾d.
1862	171,943,472 lbs.	11,773,943	16⅜d.
1863	177,377,664 lbs.	11,884,572	15½d.
1864	206,473,045 lbs.	15,733,808	13⅜d.

Thus the imports of 1862 were sixteen per cent in excess of 1861, with a rise of nearly one penny per pound; whilst a further increase of three per cent in 1863-4 either brought in a lot of very low quality wool, or more than met the demand in quantity; for imported wool was nearly twopence per pound lower average in 1864 than in 1861. As there was a considerable rise, during the same period, in the price of English wools, the probability is that the excess of imports consisted of very low qualities, and so reduced the average price. This probability is rendered more evident by the imports of 1864, which were forty per cent over those of 1861, at nearly twopence per pound reduction.

The woollen, like the cotton trade, seems to have reached a culminating point in 1860, for the imports of wool fell off by a million of pounds in 1861, and prices also declined twopence three-farthings per pound at the same time. Apart from the occurrence of the cotton famine, employment must have fallen off in Yorkshire, as well as in Lancashire, as is evidenced by the reduction in price from 1860 to 1861; but the deficiency of cotton brought in two million of pounds more sheep and lambs' wool in 1862 than in 1861, at a rise of nearly three-farthings per pound, or a little more than half a million sterling, over the cost of the same quantity in 1861. And in 1863 the increase was about twenty per cent in quantity, and the cost £369,536 more than the same quantity would have cost in 1861. But Yorkshire spindles were evidently unequal to the demand upon them, especially for very fine yarns; for the increased importation of these was nearly fifty per cent in 1862, and nearly 200 per cent in 1863, as compared with 1861, without any sensible diminution in price, as the following table will show:—

Imports of Woollen and Worsted Yarns.

Year			Per Pound.
1861	1,577,091 lbs.	£365,558	4s. 7½d.
1862	2,244,701 lbs.	514,714	4s. 7d.
1863	4,526,385 lbs.	1,029,117	4s. 6½d.
1864	4,663,467 lbs.	—	—

And an increase took place at the same time in the imports of woollen manufactured goods, showing that the Yorkshire looms, like the spindles, were unequal to the work which was required to be done. The following table represents the imports of manufactured goods for three years:—

1861 £1,419,336. 1862 £1,574,281. 1863 £1,813,894.

A glance at the exports of sheep and lambs' wool, of home growth, during the same period will further enlighten us as to the intense activity of the West Riding of Yorkshire :—

EXPORTS OF SHEEP AND LAMBS' WOOL—BRITISH.

1861	1862.	1863.	1864.
£1,143,358	£756,310	£688,300	£695,302
at 17⅜d.	at 17¾d.	at 20d.	at 21½d.
15,715,288 lb.	10,200,544 lb.	8,320,214 lb.	7,850,516 lb.

No raw wool could be spared for export, the home demand was so great, that it used up all which could be obtained. But, after conversion into yarn, so as to secure a profit to the spinner, there was no objection to export; and whilst the price of foreign wool had scarcely moved upwards, and imported yarns had actually fallen slightly in price, the coarser home-spun yarns were exported in increased quantities, and at improving prices, year by year, as the following table will show :—

EXPORTS OF WOOLLEN YARNS.

1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
27,512,352 lb.	27,821,378 lb.	32,542,609 lb.	31,926,855 lb.
at 2s. 6¾d.	at 2s. 9d.	at 3s. 1¼d.	at 3s. 4¾d.
£3,552,976	£3,852,998	£5,087,293	£5,422,162

And a similar rate of progress, both in quantity and in price, was secured in the exports of manufactures, the increase in quantity being thirty-two per cent in 1863, and forty-seven per cent in 1864, over the exports of 1861.

EXPORTS OF WOOLLEN AND WORSTED MANUFACTURES.

1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
164,398,181 yds.	167,000,290 yds.	217,166,790 yds.	241,484,954 yds.
at 1s. 4d.	at 1s. 6¾d.	at 1s. 5d.	at 1s. 6⅞d.
£11,118,692	£13,148,431	£15,489,564	£18,566,078

Thus, it will be seen that the increase of exports hardly made itself felt in 1862; for only in the end of that year did cotton goods rise materially in price; but, in 1863, the increase was thirty per cent, with a further increase of eleven per cent in 1864, when the exports exceeded those of 1861 by forty-seven per cent.

The following table, showing the prices of home-grown wool for four years, ending 1864, has been supplied by Messrs. James Akroyd and Son, of Halifax :—

STATEMENT SHOWING THE PRICES OF WOOL, PER PACK OF 240 POUNDS, DURING 1861, 1862, 1863, AND 1864.

	Lowest Price Quoted.	Highest Price Quoted.	Average of the Two.	Average of whole Year.
1861.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Lincoln Hogs (per pack)	18 0 0	22 5 0	20 2 6	21 0 0
Lincoln Wethers ,,	16 10 0	20 5 0	18 7 6	18 15 0
Irish Wethers ,,	16 10 0	19 0 0	17 15 0	18 2 6
Kent Wethers ,,	17 0 0	19 0 0	18 0 0	18 7 6
1862.				
Lincoln Hogs ,,	19 15 0	23 5 0	21 10 0	21 10 0
Lincoln Wethers ,,	17 15 0	21 5 0	19 10 0	19 10 0
Irish Wethers ,,	17 2 6	20 0 0	18 11 3	18 10 0
Kent Wethers ,,	18 15 0	20 15 0	19 15 0	19 10 0
1863.				
Lincoln Hogs ,,	22 0 0	26 10 0	24 5 0	24 5 0
Lincoln Wethers ,,	20 10 0	24 0 0	22 5 0	22 0 0
Irish Wethers ,,	20 5 0	24 0 0	22 2 6	22 2 6
Kent Wethers ,,	20 10 0	24 10 0	22 10 0	22 5 0
1864.				
Lincoln Hogs ,,	29 0 0	32 10 0	30 15 0	30 2 6
Lincoln Wethers ,,	23 10 0	27 10 0	25 10 0	25 7 6
Irish Wethers ,,	24 0 0	28 0 0	26 0 0	26 5 0
Kent Wethers ,,	24 0 0	28 0 0	26 0 0	26 5 0

Averaging the whole of the sorts in each year, we find the cost of wool to have been in 1861, one shilling and sevenpence per pound; in 1862, one shilling and sevenpence three farthings; in 1863, one shilling and tenpence-halfpenny; and in 1864, two shillings and threepence per pound. A trade which can stand a rise of forty-four per cent in the price of raw material, and still flourish, must be very sound; and that Yorkshire did stand it and flourish, the next table, which is also supplied by Messrs. Akroyd, will demonstrate.

STATEMENT SHOWING PRICES OF WORSTED YARNS PER POUND, DURING YEARS 1861, 1862, 1863, AND 1864.

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.
	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.	s. d. s. d.
Single 10's per lb	2 $0\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 2	2 1 to 2 $1\frac{1}{4}$	2 $3\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 $5\frac{1}{4}$	2 8 to 3 0
Single 30's ,,	2 $5\frac{1}{2}$ to —	2 $6\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 $9\frac{3}{4}$	2 $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 $1\frac{1}{2}$	3 $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 $8\frac{1}{2}$
Single 40's ,,	2 $11\frac{3}{4}$ to 3 $1\frac{1}{2}$	3 $0\frac{3}{4}$ to 3 $7\frac{1}{2}$	3 $6\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 2	4 $0\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 1

Notwithstanding the extraordinary prices of wool, we find by averaging all these yarns, from tens to forties, that the margin for spinning increased every year. Thus, in 1861, the employer got for spinning a pound of yarn elevenpence halfpenny; in 1862,

he got one shilling and five-eighths of a penny; in 1863, he got one shilling and twopence; and in 1864, he got one shilling and fivepence.

Now, if we assume that the woollen and worsted trades in 1861 paid a fair profit, we may, by comparing the later years with it, form an approximate estimate of the gains of Yorkshire out of the distress in the neighbouring county. Thus, if two shillings and sixpence three farthings per pound was a fair paying price for the yarns exported in 1861, the following table will show the extra receipts under that head for 1862-3-4:—

GAIN ON YARNS EXPORTED.

Year.		Value.	Increase of Trade.
1862	27,821,378 lb. at 2¼d.	£260,867	Nearly 11 per cent. average.
1863	32,542,600 lb. at 6½d.	881,362	
1864	31,926,855 lb. at 9d.	1,197,257	

So, if two shillings and fivepence per yard was a fair price for woollen cloth piece goods in 1861, the following table will exhibit the gains upon subsequent exports thus:—

Year.		Value.	Increase of Trade.
1862	35,400,976 yards at 1d.	£147,504	26 per cent average.
1863	27,762,256 yards at 5¼d.	607,299	
1864	29,786,888 yards at 7½d.	879,343	

The gain on blankets and flannels exported seems to have been but small, the price per yard in 1861 and 1862 being the same, namely, one shilling and sixpence and five-eighths of a penny; but the demand in the latter year was greater by thirty-three per cent. In 1863 the price rose only seven-eighths of a penny per yard, and a further five-eighths of a penny in 1864; so that the gain would be:—

Year.	Yards.	Value.	Increase of trade.
1863	17,311,400 at ⅞d.	£63,114	About 33 per cent average.
1864	18,142,717 at 1½d.	113,391	

The demand for carpets and druggets appears to have increased considerably, but not to have secured any considerable advantage in price. In 1861 the exports were:—

Years.	Yards.	Gain in Price.	Gain in Trade Exports.
1861	4,067,351 at 2s. 6d.	—	44 per cent.
1862	5,378,562 at 2s. 6d.	—	
1863	6,257,992 at 2s. 7d.	£26,074	
1864	5,988,633 at 2s. 11d.	124,763	

In worsted goods great advantages have accrued, for it is here that the substitutes for cotton prints have been found. The exports in 1861, under the stimulus of the French treaty, were :—

Year.	Yards.	Gain in Price.	Gain in Trade Exports.
1861	122,555,608 at 11⅜d.	—	
1862	118,812,137 at 11⅝d.	—	
1863	165,835,142 at 12d.	£86,372	20 per cent average.
1864	187,566,716 at 13¾d.	1,465,364	

These various sums make a total gain in the prices of export goods, as compared with 1861, of £5,852,710, irrespective of an increase of trade averaging at least twenty-eight per cent.

We have not been able to arrive at any reliable estimate of the proportion of the foreign to the home trade. Mr. Baines estimates the total production of the trade in 1858 at £20,290,079; but this estimate is evidently very much below the mark, because it is inconsistent with his own return of the quantity of home-grown wool. It is founded upon the following calculation for 1858:—

Foreign and colonial wool	75,903,666 lb.
British wool	80,000,000 lb.
Shoddy and mungo	45,000,000 lb.
	200,903,666 lb.

But the foreign wool left for home consumption in 1859 was one hundred and four million one hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and eighty-four pounds; and the amount of British wool exported was nine million fifty-four thousand one hundred and fifty-one pounds; which, deducted from Mr. Baines's own estimate of the growth, viz., one hundred and seventy-five million pounds, would leave a total for manufacture into yarn and cloth of two hundred and seventy million one hundred and seventy-seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-four pounds, without any allowance for British shoddy. So that if the quantity given by Mr. Baines produces the value set down by him, the real quantity manufactured in 1859 would produce £27,286,359; and if we assume the profits, as in the cotton trade, at twelve and a half per cent on the returns, then the twenty-eight per cent average increase of trade during the last three years, which is mainly due to the cotton crisis, will have added nearly £3,000,000 to the amount given above. But this is not all; for £1,609,000 per annum has

been added to the wages fund, so that the total gain of the woollen and worsted trades, most of which has been absorbed by Yorkshire, is as follows :—

Gain in price on three years' exports	£5,852,710
Gain in price on three years' home trade, at one and a half times the exports	8,779,065
Gain on twenty-eight per cent increase of trade at normal profits, say twelve and a half per cent . .	818,589
Extra wages paid	1,609,000
	£16,959,364

And the British farmer has had his harvest increased by the distress of the Lancashire operatives; for whilst the relief fund has prevented his suffering much in the price of grain, he has reaped the following substantial benefit from his growth of wool :—

1862	175,000,000 lb., at an advance of	¾d. . .	£546,870
1863	,, ,,	3½d. . .	2,552,083
1864	,, ,,	8d. . .	5,833,323
	Total		£8,932,286

That the above estimate of trade profits is not unreasonable, will be proved by another method of calculation. If the total exports of wool and of yarn be taken from the total imports, the remainder, together with the bulk of home-grown wool, may be fairly assumed to have been manufactured. Messrs. Akroyds' tables give us the cost of preparing and spinning in the worsted trade, and it is likely that the cost of manufacturing will be about half as much as that of the other processes; whilst, in woollen cloths, the balance will be the other way, as the cost of weaving and finishing, will very much exceed that of preparing and spinning. A woollen cloth, at eight shillings and ninepence per yard, will cost—

	s.	d.
For wool	6	2
Preparing	0	4½
Spinning	0	2¾
Warping, Weaving, &c. . . .	0	9
Finishing and Pressing . . .	0	10
Dyeing	0	5
	8	9¼

A flannel at fifteenpence per yard will cost—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wool	0	7½	to	0	8½
Spinning		.		0	3½
Weaving		.		0	2½
Finishing		.		0	0½
				1	3

If, therefore, we add fifty per cent to the extra margin of the spinner, for the gain of the manufacturer, we shall not err very widely, and the table will stand thus—assuming one hundred and seventy million of pounds as the amount of home-grown wool annually manufactured—

1862	276,680,477 lb. at 1⅝d. excess . . .	£1,873,357
1863	265,490,778 lb. at 3¾d. „ . . .	3,940,878
1864	295,062,566 lb. at 6¾d. „ . . .	8,298,634
		£14,112,869
	Add gain on yarns exported . . .	2,339,486
		£16,452,355

And this estimate takes no account of the extra normal profit arising from increase of trade, nor of any gain upon the manufacture of the fine yarns imported, and which are used chiefly for waistcoatings; but there is probably an excess in the calculation, arising from the average process, because the production of coarse yarns and cloths will naturally be larger, than of the finer qualities. This estimate also excludes the manufacture of British shoddy, which, together with material of the same kind imported, exceeds thirty million pounds per annum, but it also excludes all allowance for waste, and the one item may be set against the other.

Thus, the trade of Yorkshire has been greatly and profitably extended, first, by the French treaty in 1860, under which the exports of woollen and worsted manufactures to France, rose at one bound from £607,609 to £1,049,347; and since that period still more, by the sufferings of the sister county, in consequence of which the total exports of woollen and worsted manufactures have risen from £11,118,692 in 1861, to £15,489,564 in 1863, and £18,566,078 in 1864, or sixty-seven per cent. But this good fortune has not been quite all one-sided, for some thousands of cotton operatives have doubtless found employment in the worsted trade, and it is probable that much Lancashire capital has followed them;

the worsted trade has also crossed the borders of Yorkshire, and found work for a large number of cotton looms in Lancashire, which are now busy producing orleans, cobourg, and alpaca cloths. The mills erected for the manufacture of cotton goods in Warwickshire, with the laudable view of finding a secondary occupation for the ribbon weavers, have also gone *ad interim* into the worsted trade; so that either a wider permanent market will be necessary for worsted goods, or the occupation which promises to pay better for the time being, worsted or cotton, will hereafter chiefly obtain in these localities.

CHAPTER XXII.

Origin of the Cotton Supply Association—Cotton Prospects in 1860—Assistance of the Foreign Office—Constitution of the Association—The Work of Eight Years—The Mission to India and its Results—Concessions by the Turkish, Egyptian, and Portuguese Governments—*The Times'* Bombay Correspondent on the Gains of India—Whimsical Tastes—A Bombay Share List—Reports of Government Collectors—Indian Superstition the Cause of Insolvency—Eighty-six Millions Sterling Extra Paid in Four Years to India—Decreasing Consumption of Indian Cotton—Mr. Shaw's Calculations on Dharwar Cotton—Efforts towards Extension of Cotton Cultivation by Mr. Frederic Warren—Messrs. Cross and Hacking—Mr. Thomas Clegg, &c., &c.—African Cotton—The Principle of Protection amongst the Merchants.

"THE Cotton Supply Association originated (1857) in the prospective fears of a portion of the trade that some dire calamity must inevitably, sooner or later, overtake the cotton manufacture of Lancashire; whose vast superstructure had so long rested upon the treacherous foundation of restricted slave labour, as the main source of supply for its raw material."

The above extract from the fifth annual report truly says that it originated from the fears of *a portion of the trade*, for the inauguration meeting was not large, and the subscriptions did not indicate any wide spread belief in its necessity. And, although it was predicted at the meeting that, at the then rate of consumption, there would not be a bale of cotton left in Liverpool at Christmas, yet one of the largest manufacturers present declined, for want of time, to act upon the committee. With the prospect, that in a few months all his mills would have to stop for want of cotton, he had not time to devote to seeking out a remedy for the evil Of such material are the mass of mankind made: the present moment is everything, the future nothing to them; and it is continually to the few active, sensitive, and patriotic spirits, that the world is indebted for its onward progress.

But, nevertheless, there was real need for the active services of the association, even apart from any such catastrophe as the

anticipated servile war, or the more serious war of secession, which precipitated the trouble of Lancashire, in 1861. Between the years 1840 and 1860, the American cotton crop increased about one hundred per cent; but during the same term, the number of spindles employed in England and on the continent of Europe had increased about one hundred and fifty per cent. The *United States Economist*, as quoted in the report of the Cotton Supply Association for 1860, said: "The question is, whether the United States crop is likely to increase in the same ratio as the demand? We do not think it is. We have the soil for producing infinitely; but our labour is already taxed to the utmost of its producing capacity. * * * The prospect, then, seems to be, that the steady increase of the demand, as compared with the crop, will be still continued; and that, as a consequence, the price of cotton will rise to a yet higher standard."

The association, although not receiving such support as the importance of its object deserved, yet steadily devoted itself to earnest work, and opened up correspondence with every tropical and semi-tropical country to which it could get access; and it is only just to put upon record the fact that, by the aid of the home government, the co-operation of the British consuls throughout the world was secured, and that very valuable results accrued therefrom. The documents of the association were distributed with the despatches from the Foreign Office, and the various consuls were requested to report to the association, upon the capacity and adaptability of the various countries and climates where they were stationed for the growth of cotton. The association thus collected most valuable information from all quarters, and learned how, most profitably, to expend their energies.

In the report for 1862, we read: "A prize of from £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 per annum is at the present moment offered by the trade of Lancashire, to be competed for by all nations capable of growing cotton; together with innumerable social and commercial advantages, resulting from successful competition. Never in the history of nations was so magnificent an opportunity for national aggrandisement afforded to tropical countries, as that which is now presented through the failure of our supplies from the Southern States of America." This is rather grandiloquent in style, but India has since proved the truthfulness of its basis, for to the

increased purchases of cotton at famine prices for Lancashire spindles and looms, is mainly owing the conversion of the deficit in the revenue of that country into a surplus.

It is possible that if the trade could have been induced to subscribe £1,000,000 for a joint-stock company, to establish agents in all cotton producing countries, with power to purchase at proper prices all the staple which they could lay hold of, the immediate result would have been better than has yet been secured. And if the cotton so purchased had been bought below the ordinary market price, and had been auctioned amongst the shareholders in the company only, a sort of moral compulsion would have been exercised to enforce universal support for the project. The association, however, has lived upon voluntary contributions, and has confined its operations to the spread of information, to the distribution of cotton seed, and the improvement of the machinery for cleaning and packing. This more disinterested course has given it a better claim to public sympathy and to government help; has universalised its sphere of operations, and will doubtless eventually fix the production of cotton in the most suitable climates and localities; for to such will be the victory in the market, when the supply at normal prices again overtakes the demands of the trade. And the good done is not confined to England and her colonies, for seed has been sent in considerable quantities to Algeria and other colonies of France; and the Paris correspondent of *The Times*, writing in September, 1864, says: "The attempt to cultivate cotton in Algeria, Guyana, and the West Indies, together with the encouragement given to it by the government, leads the manufacturers to hope that, in a few years, there will be sufficient cotton grown in the French colonies to supply all their requirements. The consumption during the first three months of 1864, was one-third more than for the same period of 1863, and only one-third less than in the first three months of 1860." Of course the supply of France, or any other country, direct from its own colonies, will, by removing that country as a competitor from the general market, be just as advantageous to England as if the home supply was increased by the same amount.

In eight years, the association has distributed ten thousand hundred weights of cotton seeds; sent out one thousand two hundred gins, for cleaning the cotton from the seed, prior to its being packed

for shipment; and, besides a great number of fly-wheels, to be used where steam power is not available; and of saws to supply the gins, in case of accident, or destruction by ordinary wear and tear; sixty-two ploughs, and a large number of agricultural implements. Its supply of reports and pamphlets may be counted by millions; and it has stimulated production and improvement, by the distribution of eight gold, nineteen silver, and fifty-three bronze medals. It has also given prizes for the best essays on the management of the cotton plant, and the most improved method for its cultivation. Corresponding agencies have been established in Turkey, Italy, Egypt, Spain, Portugal, Australia, the Brazils, Paraguay, South America, &c., &c.; and the association "has given careful attention to about thirteen thousand letters."

All the information collected from time to time, pointed to the conclusion set forth in the report for 1862:—"India is our chief reliance, possessing as it does every element of soil, climate, and labour, necessary to furnish us with adequate supplies of cotton." In July, 1861, the association, in connection with the Manchester Cotton Company, sent out Mr. Haywood, their secretary, as a commissioner to India. The government aided this mission by sending out Dr. Forbes Watson with Mr. Haywood, and the following are some of the conclusions reported to the association:—

"That had land and water communications been more extensively opened throughout India, the present exports of cotton from that country would now have been doubled. That the annual growth of cotton in India is between four million and five million bales. That the rapid completion of the various leading lines of railway in India will prove an enormous advantage, by hastening the establishment of European agencies in the interior, and by bringing the crop down to the ports, before the setting in of the monsoon. That branch feeders will be required to connect the main lines with the remoter districts. That especial attention ought to be given to the construction of bridges upon existing roads, and this work would save thousands of miles of circuitous traffic. That cotton can be grown in India, and laid down in Liverpool, at a less cost than the New Orleans variety; and that the acclimated American seed of Dharwar, when properly cleaned, is a fair rival to New Orleans cotton. That adequate provision should be made, by a sound law, to secure the fulfilment of contracts between the

contractor and producer; and that greater facilities should be provided for the settlement of disputes in the courts of the mofussil; which are so few, so inaccessible, and so subject to corruption, as to prove an insuperable barrier to the course of justice."

In accordance with these conclusions, we find by the report for 1864, that the committee of the association made strenuous efforts in parliament, to obtain for India the adoption of measures which they believe would have been of great utility; and subsequently, suggestions were offered to the secretary of state for India, to secure the services of well-qualified commissioners, in certain districts; whose labours should be wholly devoted to the improvement and extension of the cultivation of cotton, chiefly from exotic seed, and to the prevention of adulteration and fraud.

The interest excited in foreign countries by the work of the association was very great. The Turkish government has given land rent free and tax free for five years, if devoted to the cultivation of cotton; and also allows the import of machinery for the same purpose free of duty.

In Upper Egypt, waste land devoted to the cultivation of cotton, is free from all contributions to the state for ever. The Portuguese government has made a like exemption for thirty years, in respect of land in its possession in India. The seventh report of the association says: "The indifference of our Indian rulers, so strikingly in contrast to the eager solicitude and enlightened exertions of other governments, still renders the country which was expected to become the most prolific source of supply, an occasion of mortification and disappointment." Sir Charles Wood had not only annulled the Canning minute for the redemption of the land tax and the sale of waste lands; but when the governor of Madras had given to the collectors discretion to remit the land tax for five years, to holders of not more than thirty acres devoted to cotton cultivation, he also requested that the instructions on this subject should be withdrawn.

It is difficult to understand upon what principle the government of India is conducted, for it seems certain that, if properly encouraged, no better paying crop than cotton could be produced in many parts of that country; and it is equally certain that unless such encouragement be given, Indian cotton will fall again out of use, either by the cessation of the American war, or by a supply

from the various other countries, to which the efforts of the Cotton Supply Association have introduced it; and that the principal cause of the surplus revenue in India will then have vanished. In 1861, the association reported fifty-eight new, revived, or increasing sources of supply. It is amazing, that whilst Lord Russell, as minister for foreign affairs, so effectually aided the efforts of the association, as to have produced the general impression in foreign countries that the gifts of cotton seed were due to the British government; and thus secured the utmost attention and help; the secretary for India, "the finest jewel in the British crown," has acted as if he wished to exclude the cultivation of cotton from a country, which, if properly encouraged, would be able to supply with ease, all which Europe can need for many years to come.

From the report for 1864-5 we learn that the distribution of seed for the year had been two thousand two hundred and ninety-eight hundredweights, and that it had been sent to Constantinople, Smyrna, Jaffa, Brussa, Acre, Latakia, Trieste, The Caucasus, Wallachia, South of Spain, France, Greece, Piraeus, Carrea, Corfu, Patras, Zante, Italy, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kurrachee, Batavia, Penang, Shangai, Kin Kiang, and other parts of China; Mauritius, Leychelles, Natal, West Africa, Siberia, Cameroons, Mazagan, Teneriffe, and various parts of Egypt; Maranham, Peru, Porto Rico, Rio Janiero, Rio Grande, West Coast of South America, Berbice, Vera Cruz, Gaudaloupe, Tobago, St. Thomas, Antigua, Tortola, Cuba, and other places in the West Indies; Queensland, Port Macquarrie, New South Wales, New Zealand, Navigator's Islands, New Hebrides, and Fijii. Turkey would gladly have taken three hundred tons of seed and have paid for it, had as much been available.

And the association received samples of cotton from the three presidencies of India, from Java, Rangoon, Bokhara, Queensland, Western Australia, New South Wales, the West Indies, Cape de Verde Islands, Porto Rico, Costa Rico, New Granada, Venezeula, Peru, The Argentine Republic, Bahia, Honduras, Brazil, Mexico, Carthagena, and other places in Central and South America; Cape Coast, Natal, Madagascar, Navigator's Islands, Turkey, Asia Minor, Smyrna, Syria, Greece, Italy, Morocco, Algeria, Malta, The Caucasus, and the United States. Speaking of India, the report says:—

"Disappointed that so little has been done to render India a satisfactory and permanent source of cotton supply, your

committee have renewed their appeals to the Indian council on this subject; recapitulating the measures previously recommended, showing by numerous samples that an improved quality can, with proper care and effort, be grown, and urging that immediate steps be taken, to preserve the magnificent cotton trade of that country. Your committee also had an interview with the Right Honourable W. N. Massey, the new finance minister of India, prior to his departure, to whom they represented the importance of using such means as might be in his power to promote the desired improvement in Indian cotton. Whilst these representations were in both cases received with courtesy and attention, your committee fear that official procrastination and neglect will continue, until the opportunity which should be used will be irrecoverably lost. A consignment of Indian cotton from Dr. Shortt, of Madras, was recently sold by your association at fourteenpence per pound, the value of middling Orleans being at the same date fifteenpence-halfpenny per pound; showing conclusively, in addition to former evidence, that India is capable of producing a quality which will bear comparison with that of American growth."

In the beginning of the year 1865 the Bombay correspondent of *The Times* wrote to the following effect:—Up to 1860 the sum paid by Europe for the whole cotton export of India was not above seven millions sterling annually. In 1860-1 the import of bullion into Bombay alone, was six and one-third millions sterling, chiefly in payment for cotton. But in the three following years, Europe paid to India nearly forty millions sterling per annum, one-half of which was in bullion. In Calcutta the trade is almost entirely in the hands of Europeans, the Bengalese playing but a subordinate part. But in Bombay the trade is largely in the hands of the casteless native Parsees; and many of them, and a smaller number of Scotchmen, who a few years ago were petty brokers, are now millionaires. A Hindoo, named Premchund Roychund, lately a subordinate clerk in an English house on £30 a year, has by daring speculation amassed two millions sterling. Rustonjee, the second son of the late Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, who inherited but a moderate fortune, has become the millionaire of Bombay, his capital being reckoned at two and a half millions sterling. Twenty such cases could be named. Nor is the wealth confined to the merchant, who acts as middleman between the peasant grower and the Liver-

pool buyer. The ryots of the Bombay presidency were (except those of Madras) the most miserable in India: burdened with a weight of hereditary debt, which every generation increased, they were the veriest bond slaves of the native usurer, who bought their crops at his own price. Now they are rolling in comparative wealth, and the occupation of the usurer is gone. All are, according to their ideas, comfortably clothed, housed, and fed to the full; and the majority of them indulge in the most whimsical tastes. One prides himself on his fine breed of bullocks, for which he has paid five times the old price; another rejoices in his riding-horse; whilst a third has actually used English silver to make tires for his cart wheels! and a worthy farmer in a festive procession exhibited his wealth by carrying enormous bags of rupees at the ends of poles! In this presidency, once so waste, and yielding comparatively so little to the revenue, there is not a culturable acre unemployed. Even in Kandeish, the only country which has not recovered from the effects of Mahratta devastations, there has been witnessed in an obscure village, a crowd of peasants squatting round two agents from Bombay; one with forty thousand rupees, and the other with thirty thousand, paying for the growing crop at enormously high prices.

Such an influx of wealth has raised the prices of all commodities, to such an extent that persons who live on small fixed incomes are in great difficulties; and subalterns and even captains in Her Majesty's service, cannot afford to have butcher's meat on their tables more than once a week. The youngest and ablest men leave the service of the crown for merchandise. Speculation is wild. In a single Bombay share list, there appeared thirty banks, land reclamation, and financial companies, nearly all the produce of 1864. Hardly one had paid a dividend, yet the shares stood at premiums which the maddest speculator had never dreamt of. According to the reports of the government collectors, the cultivation of cotton is rapidly extending, and increased attention is paid to the quality. Mr. Hume, the collector of Etawah, tells the Suddar board of revenue, that the cotton growers begin to show a desire to ship cotton on their own account to England, and inquire the prices which could be realised in their own districts, in Calcutta, and in England respectively. Mr. Plowden, secretary to the board of revenue for the north-western provinces, says that

"the great majority of the profits have this year (1864) at least, reached to those immediately connected with the soil," but there does not appear to have been much saving of money. Mr. Forbes (another collector) says: "It has been noticed by everyone that the care bestowed upon the cotton lands this year, exceeds that ever known before. Men, women, and children were continually to be seen in the fields, weeding, clearing, and loosening the earth about the young plants, and fondly contemplating the crop upon which all their hopes were centered." Mr. Martin, of Moozuffumugger, says: "I am at a loss to conceive how the Manchester Chamber of Commerce makes out that the tenure under which the land is held in India impedes the cultivation of cotton; in reality there is no such impediment. The cultivation is going on at rapid strides, and displacing other crops. The minute sub-division of landed property has no doubt the effect of preventing the growth of capital, and thereby the means of purchasing cotton-cleaning and pressing implements; but private companies are springing up all over the country, and providing the necessary apparatus to the trading classes. As long as prices remain steady, Manchester need not fear any contraction of the breadth of land sown with cotton." This evidence of Mr. Martin tells us that, so long as from two hundred to three hundred per cent over the ordinary price is paid for cotton, the cultivation in India will continue to extend, and that the defective tenure of land will not be an obstacle. But prices will not remain at those rates, and the tax, which at present is unfelt, will again make itself evident; and a needy government may again render the ryot's calculations as to the produce of his crop perfectly useless. Unless the staple of Indian cotton be greatly improved, its consumption in England will infallibly fall again to the old standard; and it will have to compete not only with its former successful rival, but also with Turkey, Egypt, China, Japan, Brazil, and a host of other new aspirants for a share of the vast sum which is now annually disposable by Lancashire.

The Indian government has not done what it might and ought to have done to aid the cultivation of cotton; and there is one monster evil which it cannot abolish if it would, and which is a great hindrance to progress. The ryots are very superstitious, and are born to hereditary debt, arising out of this superstition.

According to their creed, it is necessary for each man to pay a very heavy sum (often two years' income) to the priest, for the welfare of the soul of his father; and it is necessary to provide sisters and daughters with husbands before they reach a given age, at whatever cost; and these two practices help to throw them all into the hands of the native usurers, and to keep them there generation after generation. It is proposed to erect insolvent courts, to enable the ryots to shake off their load when it becomes intolerable; but the influence of such courts upon the moral character of the ryot is doubtful, supposing them to get into operation; whilst if they require the insolvent to surrender his land, it is more than doubtful if they will ever get to work at all.

The gain to India by the cotton famine has been enormous, and if that gain had been spread amongst a prudent population, would have been sufficient to secure much permanent prosperity. But a large proportion of it is in few hands, and will be, if it be not already, spent in unprofitable speculations; whilst the remainder, it is to be feared, will be freely spent in other directions than for land improvements, or the production of a quality of cotton which would be permanently marketable.

Mr. Henry Ashworth, speaking at the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 30th January, 1865, said: "The quantity of cotton consumed in 1860 was valued at £34,000,000. Last year (1864), for a quantity probably not exceeding one-half what we received in 1860, we had to pay, in round numbers, £80,000,000. In 1860 our consumption was one billion eighty-three million pounds. In 1864 it was five hundred and sixty-one million pounds, or about fifty-one per cent of the former year. But the inferiority of the material required much more labour; hence the fifty-one per cent of cotton consumed, required from sixty to seventy per cent of the hands to work it up. In 1860 American cotton furnished five days' labour out of six in every week; in 1864 it did not furnish enough for half a day per week. In 1860 we paid for Indian cotton £3,500,000, and in 1864 nearly £40,000,000. The quantity had increased two and a half times (from two hundred and fourteen million pounds to five hundred and thirteen million pounds), and the price had increased ten or eleven times."

Assuming the average price of Indian cotton, in ordinary years, at fivepence per pound, then the payments of the last three years may be set forth as follows :—

PAYMENTS IN EXCESS OF THE ORDINARY PRICES OF INDIAN COTTON.

Years.	lbs.		
1862 . .	403,197,300 at 8⅝d.	over ordinary prices . .	£14,489,903
1863 . .	449,571,000 at 14⅜d.	„ . .	27,822,368
1864 . .	513,758,220 at 15¾d.	„ . .	33,715,283
			£76,027,554

And the year 1865 will at least have added £10,000,000 more to this enormous gain.

This immense sum has not been all retained in India, for enhanced prices of goods have necessitated a considerable return; but whilst the payments for cotton have gone first to the merchants, and speculators, and money lenders, and then, in a lesser degree, to the ryots; the cost of goods has been drawn from the whole of the consumers, and has also afforded a profit to the merchants. It is impossible to get anything like an exact estimate of gains and losses, because goods are exported in so many different forms that the total weight sent to any place cannot be given. The imports of cotton are given in pounds weight, but the exports of piece goods are given in yards; and it is not possible to arrive at the weight of an average yard. *The Times*' correspondent says that about one-half of the payments of 1862-3-4 have been in bullion; but, as India imported much more largely than usual of other matters besides cotton goods, one half of the extra payments for cotton will not approximate very nearly to the absolute gain by the cotton famine. Our exports of cotton goods to India have been as exhibited in the following table:—

Years.	lbs.	COTTON YARNS.	Per lb.	Excess compared with 1861.
1861	—	—	at 14½d.	—
1862	18,033,219	£1,476,338	at 19d.	£338,122
1863	23,468,771	2,905,214	at 29⅜d.	1,454,574
1864	17,686,636	2,349,940	at 31⅞d.	1,280,438
		MANUFACTURED GOODS.		
	Yards.		Per Yard.	
1861	—	—	at 3d.	—
1862	514,662,198	£8,056,540	at 3¾d.	£1,608,319
1863	559,364,030	11,708,984	at 5d.	4,661,366
1864	476,976,102	11,346,676	at 5⅝d.	4,388,842
				£13,731,661

If we add fifty per cent for items overlooked, to the excess here brought out, we shall see that the terrible Lancashire crisis has given to India about £56,000,000, or more than a quarter of the

whole capital invested in the cotton manufacture; and which gives direct and profitable employment in the Lancashire district alone to more than half a million of workpeople.

Let us hope that the merchants of India, instead of being satisfied with their present prosperity, will adopt means to render it permanent for themselves and the ryots. This can only be done by stimulating the production of improved staples. Apart from an earnest effort in that direction, Surat cotton will as surely be superseded within a few years by the productions of other countries, as it was in former years by that of the Southern States of North America. In 1860, the proportion of Indian consumed in this country was nearly seven per cent of the whole; in 1861, it rose to fourteen and three-quarters per cent; and in 1862, to nearly fifty-nine per cent; and in 1863, it reached nearly sixty-five per cent. The actual increase of consumption, including the small amounts received from China and Japan, for four years, is shown below:—

1860	173,700	bales.
1861	348,500	,,
1862	698,320	,,
1863	892,800	,,

But that the character of the cotton is not much improved, is also proved by the fact that the consumption of 1864 showed only about seven and a half per cent increase over the previous year (about one thousand two hundred and seventy bales per week); whilst the imports would have allowed eight thousand bales per week more to be consumed. The total consumption of cotton increased about seventeen per cent, but of East Indian only seven and a half per cent; indicating very plainly that it is not prejudice alone which prevents its use, and that it must either be considerably improved in quality or fall again speedily out of use. In the first four weeks of 1865 there was actually a less consumption of this cotton than at the same period of 1863. The weekly deliveries from Liverpool are thus given in the *Manchester Guardian,* 7th February 1865:

	First four weeks in 1865.	First four weeks in 1863.
American	1,560 bales	940 bales
Brazil	1,500 ,,	1,360 ,,
Egyptian, &c.	3,940 ,,	2,600 ,,
West Indian, &c.	410 ,,	120 ,,
	7,500	5,020
East India, China, and Japan.	10,230	12,290
	17,730	17,310

Thus, whilst the consumption of every other kind had increased by fifty per cent, Indian cotton had decreased seventeen per cent.

Surat, which was used almost exclusively for yarns up to 40's during the year 1862, has since been mixed to the extent of from one-third to two-thirds of better cotton. Spinners and manufacturers follow this course, not because they choose to use higher priced cotton, but because they are forced to it, in order to keep their workmen and to sell their goods.

We have elsewhere spoken of the efforts of Mr. A. N. Shaw, formerly government collector in the district of Dharwar, to improve the character of the cotton grown in that district, by the introduction of New Orleans seed. Let us now calculate the pecuniary result which would flow from generalising that improvement. From a paper read at the Society of Arts, in 1863, by Mr. Shaw, we take the following extract :—"New Orleans still maintained its position at the head of the price current, being, on 12th November, 1862, one hundred and fifty rupees per candy higher than the best cotton in the Bombay market. * * * Allowing that it requires seven acres of the New Orleans seed to produce a candy, or seven hundred and eighty-four pounds, of clean cotton, and that thirteen acres of the indigenous cultivation are necessary to yield an equal amount; (the relative prices of the indigenous and New Orleans cottons being, as quoted in Bombay at the above date, five hundred and sixty rupees and three hundred and ninety rupees per candy,) the difference of the value of two hundred and eighty thousand acres of these respective cultivations, taking the rupee at two shillings, would be as £2,240,000 to £840,000; leaving in favour of the New Orleans £1,400,000, to be divided amongst those concerned in India in growing and selling the crop; and manifold more valuable to the government and the country than the whole aggregate of the expenditure which has been incurred in all the experiments throughout India." And the account given of successful improvement in Dharwar, has since been repeated in Madras.

The difference between the indigenous cotton and that grown in Dharwar, from New Orleans seed, was nearly fourpence three-farthings per pound in November, 1862, and it would be at least one-half as much in ordinary times. Assuming such an improvement to be generalised upon the production of 1864, the difference of price would be £4,281,318. Such an improvement

would render a large portion of the demand upon India permanent; and, whilst securing a market for a most important staple production, would also pay interest at five per cent upon £85,000,000 for irrigation and other necessary improvements. And if the calculations of Mr. Shaw as to the increased yield of New Orleans seed be correct, the same effort, instead of displacing other crops, and rendering India dependent upon imports for food, would actually set at liberty nearly half the land which is now under cultivation for cotton. Surely, if the immense influx of wealth of the last three years does not effect this most important object, by demonstrating in what direction the duty of government lies, all hope of the improvement of India may be given up.

Now that the cotton famine is nearly over, and the raw material bids fair to return, at no distant date, to normal prices, even without very large supplies from the Southern States of North America, the reader will naturally ask why men of keen intellect and large general knowledge ever allowed the great staple of their industry to depend on the rotten foundation of negro slavery? All thinking men believed that the institution which upheld property in man as a right must, sooner or later, come to ruin; and it was sometimes talked of as a crime that Lancashire manufacturers should, by their trade, encourage and tend to perpetuate its existence. Everybody believed that the system would some day break down, and the hopes of most people favoured their belief; but the conservative feeling which dictates that we should let well alone, prevented people who averaged twelve and a half per cent upon a continually-increasing capital, from troubling themselves much about the future. Manufacturers were concerned chiefly in the production of a cheap article; they bought all suitable material which came to hand, and the doctrine of *laissez faire* taught that cotton ought to be, as experience showed that it had hitherto been, supplied in sufficient quantities to make a fair profit. Nevertheless, efforts were made from time to time, setting forth the danger of the dependence, the capacities of India, and the necessity of encouraging an increase of growth and improvement of quality on that continent.

After the failure of Mr. Bright's motion for inquiry, in 1847, a working man, named Frederic Warren, who had originally been a carter, and then an assistant to a drysalter, and afterwards a dry-

salter on his own account; and who had also been an active worker in the operatives' anti-bread-tax union, set to work to enlighten the public mind upon this subject. He issued a pamphlet, showing from good authorities that Indian cotton could, with the encouragement of the government, be laid down in Liverpool at twopence halfpenny per pound. Having considerable mechanical genius, he applied to a machine maker, and obtained leave to use the tools of the establishment, and produced a complete and beautiful set of working models of cotton machinery, from the steam engine to the calico printing machine. With these models Mr. Warren travelled through the country, and lectured upon his favourite topic in most of the important cities and towns, at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and at the Society of Arts in London; on which last occasion the late Prince Consort presided, and so highly appreciated his efforts, as to introduce him to the East India Company. But it was too early for much useful result, either to the country or to the lecturer. The carriage of the machinery was costly, and although Mr. Warren was his own mechanic and his own labourer, the lectures failed to pay expenses, and were obliged to be discontinued. Lancashire manufacturers were in no immediate danger, and did not value his self-imposed labour and energetic exertion to produce a public opinion in this country, in order to enforce Indian cultivation; and so left the lecturer to seek a new occupation, and his machinery models to fill a lumber room.

About the same period, Mr. Thomas Clegg, a Manchester manufacturer, appears, through his acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Bazley, M.P. (who has been a promoter of most of the attempts to widen the area of cotton cultivation), to have been led to take more than usual interest in the subject.

Messrs. Cross and Hacking, of Farnworth, attempted, in 1851, to get up a company for the growth of cotton, but, as might have been anticipated, they did not succeed. Men who could profitably employ all their capital at home, were not likely to risk it in Jamaica, or other far off colonies, entirely beyond their own control; and they pleaded, "we are spinners," or, "we are manufacturers," and our employment requires all our care and absorbs all our means.

Messrs. J. Pender, M.P., the late Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, J. A. Turner, M.P., Thomas Bazley, M.P., and others, tried to

procure cotton from the west coast of Africa, but without much success. Mr. Clegg, desiring prominently to promote the growth of free labour cotton, procured samples of indigenous African cotton; which grows wild, in great profusion, and for the most part falls to the ground and rots, from year to year, until it forms a coating upon the earth, like the guano on the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

The samples from Sierra Leone were found to possess all the qualities of American cotton, but were a little coarser, and not so white as the cotton grown from New Orleans seed. Mr. Clegg set up agencies at Lagos and Abbeokuta, where young Africans were taught the principles of mechanics, to enable them to clean and pack, whilst others purchased cotton for the English market; and these efforts resulted in the following imports:—

1851.	1852.	1853.	1854.	1855.	1856.	1857.	1858.	1859.
lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
235	3,036	4,814	1,548	3,485	12,750	35,319	219,389	417,087

Since which date, internal wars have reduced the imports again to an utterly insignificant amount. This cotton was bought in the seed at Abbeokuta at from a halfpenny to three farthings per pound, whilst clean cotton realised in Liverpool, from sixpence farthing to ninepence per pound. So that, whenever it shall please His Majesty the King of Dahomey, and the rest of the chiefs, to leave off fighting, England and Africa may be mutually and largely benefited by a renewal of the trade.

In 1855, various motives induced Mr. Clegg to take a tour in the east, and he travelled to Tunis, to Algeria, Constantinople, and Egypt, taking with him a gentleman from Tunis, to enable him to see the various modes of cotton cultivation. He reports that in most places which he visited, he found that the English government had interested itself by presents of cotton seed, or of gins for cleaning, seeking by these means to promote the growth of cotton; but in no case were the gins found either at work, or in workable condition; one, at Jaffa, was buried under sacks of grain, and another, at Jerusalem, was going to ruin with rust.

The traveller was everywhere well received and over-loaded with promises that the growth of cotton should be promoted; and the Bey of Tunis gave a passage to Constantinople in his own steamer. A company was afterwards formed for cotton growing in Tunis; England was to provide one-third and Tunis two-thirds of the

necessary capital, an American planter was engaged, and the Cotton Supply Association was to furnish the seed. The seed arrived too late for the first season, the planter was impracticable, the business was badly managed, the experiment failed, and in a very short time the capital was lost and the company wound up.

Since the commencement of the Cotton Supply Association many efforts have been made to procure cotton from new sources; and Mr. Clegg says he has been consulted about the formation or operations of more than sixty companies. In order to spread information upon the subject of cotton cultivation, he prepared a number of small tin boxes, in each of which, under glass, was a range of compartments containing cotton seeds of various kinds, the different varieties of cotton separated from the seeds; samples of the fibre drawn out to show the length of each; and a printed card, giving the name, the average length of fibre, and the average prices in 1859, and showing the capacities of different varieties of cotton for affording employment. The best modern mill for coarse Indian cotton employs only three and a half hands to every one thousand pounds of cotton used per week, whilst the finest spinners employ about two hundred and fifteen hands for every one thousand pounds of cotton consumed per week. These boxes were sent to the Cotton Supply Association, to the South Kensington Museum, the Society of Arts, and to many other public bodies. The boxes were each accompanied by a little book, containing a description of each kind of cotton, the counts of yarn usually spun from them, the length in miles of each pound of yarn, and the purpose for which each kind was generally used, from the production of the heaviest fustian to the finest muslin or lace.

Mr. Clegg also, with the help of Mr. Haywood, the former secretary of the Cotton Supply Association, prepared a pamphlet on the cultivation of cotton, which was largely circulated by the association, by various merchants, and by the English government, in all parts of the world where cotton was likely to be grown. Of course he had many difficulties to encounter, and amongst others was the opposition of an English consul in Africa, who attempted to prove that the country would not grow, and that its natives would not cultivate, cotton; and when a trade had really been opened direct with the African chiefs, a leading Manchester merchant actually remonstrated with him, for opening direct

communications, and thus spoiling the trade of the middlemen. And the president of the late Commercial Association is said to have repeated this nonsense, asking what the natives and other traders on the African coast were to do, if Mr. Clegg was allowed to go direct to the natives? The Liverpool cotton brokers also resented this attempt at direct trade, and for a time refused to sell cotton to the man who imported direct from Africa! So that the evils of protection and of trades unions, are not confined to the working classes, but make themselves known whenever the wheel of progress crosses the path of the defenders and supporters of existing interests.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Constitution and Utility of Chambers of Commerce—Limits of Government Interference on Behalf of Trade—The Government Landlord of India—Opinions of Chambers of Commerce as to the Requirements of British India—India Capable of Competing Successfully in Cotton Production—Examples of Defective Laws of Contract—Proposals of Lords Stanley and Canning on Waste Lands—Sir Charles Wood's Veto, and his own Plan—The Import Duty on Lancashire Manufactures—Deputation to Mr. Massey—The Red Tape Bond—Sir Charles Wood's Budget Speech—Comparative Expenditure on Improvements of the Landlord Government in India, and of the late Duke of Northumberland at Home.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce comprises amongst its members the principal manufacturers and merchants of the cotton districts. It is governed by a board of directors, and its special business is to watch over and promote the interests of the trade and commerce of the country generally, and of the cotton and its affiliated trades in particular. Such a body, being practically familiar with the productions and wants of the various countries with which England is commercially connected, ought to have considerable influence with the home government, unless their representations are at any time contradicted by those of similar bodies in other localities. Of course their evidence in regard to proposed legislation would be looked upon as *ex parte*, but the adoption of the free-trade principle as the rule of commerce, very much lessens, if it does not quite annihilate, the danger of selfish representations. The object aimed at in any proposals must be the increase of commercial intercourse, and whatever facilitates this end, must mutually benefit all the parties concerned.

There may still be a question as to the proper limit of government operations in regard to trade; and bodies of merchants seeking their own gain may occasionally call upon the government to spend, principally for the benefit of a class, the funds of the nation; in which case sound policy will, of course, dictate a refusal. But the proper duties of a government must vary in different countries, according

to the relative positions of the governors and the governed. In this country, where the whole of the land, except so much of the sea shore as lies between high and low-water mark, is private property, held in fee simple; it would be preposterous to expect the central government to make roads, or to erect water works, in any one locality. Individual proprietors often see their own advantage in setting apart land for making roads, and giving them up to the public; and if a given locality needs a road, an act of parliament can be got to authorise the purchase of the land, and to authorise the exaction of passing tolls to pay for road making and repairing. So if a municipality wants water or gas works, it goes to parliament and gets power to tax the inhabitants, who are to be benefited by the works. But if all the land belonged to the government, and the holders were simply tenants at will, liable to have their rents doubled, or to be turned out at any time for non-payment, then they could hardly be expected either to make roads or to lay out much capital in improvements; and the consequences would naturally be parsimonious outlay, slovenly farming, and an exhausted soil. Now, during the reign of the East India Company, the condition of the country under their rule was as above described, but with this aggravation—that the landlord government was not certain as to its own length of tenure, and its interest was therefore to extract as much present revenue, for as little outlay as possible. Much of the land of India is eminently suited for the growth of cotton, which is indeed an indigenous plant; and, if properly cultivated, the production of cotton would be sufficient for all the mills in the world; but neglect renders it short in staple and brittle in fibre, whilst the want of proper roads for its conveyance from the interior to the shipping ports, subjects it to the deteriorating influences of long exposure to weather; and to the accumulation of dirt, from the bursting of the bales during the loading and unloading of the bullocks which convey it to port; and these disadvantages limit the range of its consumption, and, by reaction, discourage its growth.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce—with the double view of enlarging the Indian market for manufactures, and of providing against a possible failure in the principal source of cotton supply, either from climatic influences, or from a revolt of the slaves in America—has continually appealed to the home and Indian governments, to adopt measures for promoting and improving the growth

of cotton in India. The principal requirements set forth have been, the making of public roads, the improvement of the rivers, the provision of works for irrigation, the security of land tenure, and an efficient law of contract. All these measures have also been advocated by many independent authorities, and overwhelming evidence has been accumulated to show their necessity and value to India, as well as to England. It is true that the trade has not always been quite unanimous in its recommendations; for when, in 1847, Mr. Bright moved in parliament for a committee on Indian affairs, the East India Company found apologists in Manchester; and a counter petition to that from the Chamber of Commerce was presented, and the motion was in consequence lost. In and out of parliament it has been said that the growth of cotton in India was only a question of price; that if Manchester men would pay for it, they would get it, and that if it did not come at their call, they might go out to India and grow it for themselves. But what is the use of cotton-growing land without roads, when the products must be conveyed a thousand miles to the sea coast; and what sensible man would invest capital to improve land of which he had no secure tenure; or what man would advance money upon a crop which he had no means of securing when ready for market? There is no doubt that the growth of cotton as of any other product is mainly a question of price, but it is also certain that proper encouragement by the government would enable the Indian ryot to compete with the American planter; and until he does so, it is simply foolish to expect that Lancashire merchants will go out of their way to buy an inferior article at an extravagant price. The most useful quality of cotton to the manufacturer, is received from the state of Alabama; and it has been ascertained that the analysis of the soil and subsoil of the principal cotton regions of India closely resemble those of Alabama. Moreover, the similarity of effect under careful cultivation has been most fully corroborated by Mr. Shaw (the late government collector), who undertook to cultivate the American cotton plant in the district of Dharwar, and did it with signal success. Referring to his published statement, we find that, with a cost of production of not more than three farthings per pound, he received in Liverpool sixpence halfpenny per pound for this cotton, whilst at the same time only threepence-halfpenny could be obtained for the indigenous cotton of the country. It is clear, therefore, that India could produce the cotton

which is required, and that it would be much to the advantage of India and of England that she should do so. But it would be idle to expect Europeans to invest money in land, the rent of which is annually and arbitrarily assessed by government officials.

The *Calcutta Englishman*, 20th July, 1864, wrote as follows:— "Recent experiments in the growing of cotton tend to prove that India, by judicious care and attention, the selection of lands in districts well suited for that cultivation, and finally, the introduction of New Orleans and Egyptian cotton seed, can in time make England independent of America. In fact, cotton from New Orleans seed, in the instance brought before us, has rather improved than deteriorated in quality and value, and we can now bring forward the results of recent trials from that stock, showing a wonderful improvement during the past three years. Dr. Bonavio, of Lucknow, has cultivated, in an experimental garden, cotton from New Orleans seed, and has sent several samples (which we have seen) to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society. From that stock he gave some seed to Dr. Brandis, who sent it to Rangoon, to be sown in the government experimental cotton plantation. The result is, that the samples sent lately from Rangoon to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, have turned out to be superior to those cultivated at Lucknow; and have been valued by the cotton committee of that society as worth now, in London and Liverpool, two shillings and threepence per pound. We attribute this improvement in quality to the suitable soil and climate of Rangoon; and a proof of the correctness of our opinion is to be found in the arrival from Moulmein of some cotton superior to any we have yet seen in Calcutta; in bales, fifty and sixty at a time, which have been here as high as fifty-four rupees per bazar maund. It is supposed that this cotton is grown at Moulmein or in the Tennaserim district from New Orleans cotton seed, probably distributed there by one of the members of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, who receive annually small supplies for experimental plantations, when applied for. This cotton is put down by competent judges as being worth now, in London and Liverpool, about twenty-four pence per pound, and is of such a description and quality that the majority of buyers in England prefer purchasing it. We have been told that it has been imported here by an up-country native, and grown by natives, and we are therefore anxious to mention its superiority, and the

high price it has realised, as an inducement to both Europeans and natives to endeavour to extend the cultivation. However long the American war may continue, cotton cultivated here, from New Orleans and Egyptian seed, particularly in Burmah and Tenasserim provinces, will always realise high prices, and it will always be remunerative, though perhaps not so profitable as it is just now. But as in this country nothing can be expected unless encouragement and assistance are offered, we trust that the attention of the minister of finance will be devoted to this important question."

Then as to the advance of money to native growers; Mr. Landon, before the colonisation of India committee, July, 1855, says, in reply to question No. 8,399 :—"The native courts are corrupt generally, from the judges downwards. I advanced money on a contract. When the cotton should have been delivered, he (the contractor) refused to deliver. I asked him—'Why do you refuse to fulfil your contract?' In nine months I got a verdict against him. The court examined a witness one day, then postponed the case a month. The court then examined other witnesses, and again postponed at his pleasure, and so on. The defendant appealed to a superior court, who confirmed the decision in my favour, for principal, without interest. The defendant, though a man of wealth, had no property that I could seize; he had corruptly made it away. After two years, I managed to get about seventy-five per cent, with interest, and paid my own costs. Witnesses can be got to prove anything required. If there were a summary process, money could be recovered. The natives practise these frauds upon each other, and complain of the system of administering justice. It took me two years to recover, from first instituting the suit to the final decision of the upper court. So much for civil courts."

The Honourable Mr. Scott, a member of the legislative council of India, on 12th April, 1862, said, in a debate on the Breach of Contract Bill, "No prudent European dare, in the existing state of the law, establish such agencies (for advances to the ryots) on a large scale, without some system of easy registration of contracts, and without some summary law—for the enforcement of contracts—criminal or otherwise. * * * On 6th May, 1852, we contracted with a person in the Dharwar districts for the delivery of a certain quantity of cotton, and, according to custom, paid half purchase

money in advance. He failed to deliver, and we sued upon the contract. We obtained a decree in the Sudder Ameer's Court, on 23rd November, 1853, and an appeal in the Judges' Court, on 27th November, 1854. The defendant then appealed to the Sudder, and his appeal was dismissed, with costs, 30th January 1857. His property was then attached, and almost simultaneously he died. Claimants then rose up against the attachment. We again obtained decrees in our favour, and an appeal was again made in August, 1861. Ten years' fighting for a paltry sum which would have been abandoned long ago, save that we objected to being "done." The firm to which I belong is the only one on this side of India which has attempted such operations (advances up country) on a large scale; and in my own earlier career in India, I had a great deal to do with their management up country. A history of our doings is on the records of government, and I need not enter upon it here. Suffice it to say that, after fighting against all difficulties for ten years, after expending large sums in machinery and in the importation of foreign cotton seed, &c., &c., we were obliged to withdraw our agencies, and abandon altogether a large sum in outstanding advances. What caused our failure? The want of a system of registration of contracts, and the want of some means of summarily enforcing them. Give us these and we will commence again, and so will many others; without them we can do nothing."

It is not wonderful that the East India Company (whose tenure was insecure) sought to extract the largest possible present revenue, whilst they were careless about permanent improvements; and the transfer of the government of India to the Queen was, therefore, hailed on this side of the water with great satisfaction, and accepted as a measure of consolation, for the immense losses of life and wealth, in the mutiny of the sepoys. And the Queen's government has accepted some of the duties, so often and persistently urged upon its predecessor. It has either undertaken the making of roads, or has given an Indian government guarantee of five per cent, for the outlay on approved lines of railway. But, although the prosperity of India obviously depends to a large extent on the prompt completion of the system of railways and canals which have received government approval, yet in a minute by the governor-general, bearing date November, 1860, the statement was made, that all necessary and useful public works had

been deferred and stopped, because of a deficit in the revenue. Thus, the chief means by which the revenue is to be permanently increased, were neglected, because they were urgently needed.

Representatives of the different chambers of commerce of Manchester, Glasgow, Bradford, Halifax, Sheffield, and Liverpool, met at the Westminster Palace Hotel, 19th February, 1861, and adopted a petition to parliament, of which we append the summary :—

"Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly pray your honourable house to take under your early consideration the important questions which they have very respectfully ventured to bring to your notice, in order that measures may be devised to secure :— 1st. To India the benefits of good government.—2nd. To the British and native capitalist free and secure tenure of land, the want of which is now so severely felt.—3rd. The completion of the railway system sanctioned for India, as well as the execution of such other reproductive works as are necessary to develop the agricultural and other resources of wealth, now lying dormant in the country.—4th. The relief of trade from the existing duties which are admitted to be founded on a system that is false and vicious in principle.—5th. The production in parliament, as early as possible in the session, of clear, simple, and distinct accounts of the revenue and expenditure.—6th. To all who may proceed to India as settlers and cultivators, and to all engaged in commercial pursuits, full and effective justice, without oppression from the official class; the interference of government being limited, 'to providing good laws, good magistrates, good judges, and good police;' offices, now held exclusively for the civil service, being thrown open to all who may be efficient to discharge the duties attached to them; to secure, in fact, the extinction of all invidious or class distinctions, such as now exist; and to devise such other measures as may in the wisdom of your honourable house appear to be well calculated to promote the welfare of our fellow subjects in India."

Lord Stanley, when secretary of state for India, seems to have been inclined to do effective service; and he issued two despatches, 31st December, 1858, and 16th March, 1859, containing instructions respecting the sale in perpetuity of waste lands, and the redemption by purchase of the land tax. He proposed to sell the waste lands at a fixed price, and to allow those already under cultivation to be-

come the property of the holders, at twenty years' purchase, when the land tax should have reached something like a permanent standard by assessment. One-third of India lies waste, and if action had been immediately taken upon these despatches, some two hundred and fifty thousand square miles of land, various in quality, and subject to various climates, would have been brought into the market two years before the outbreak of the American war; when many of the capitalists of Lancashire were of opinion that the American planters were getting some £10,000,000 per annum more for their cotton than was necessary to give them a fair profit; and were also becoming fully alive to the danger of dependence upon one source of supply. But these instructions were not attempted to be put in operation until the blockade of the Southern ports of America made it too evident, what would be the condition of Lancashire. On 21st December, 1861, the late Lord Canning (then governor-general) adopted and promulgated a scheme for the disposal of waste or unoccupied lands, and for the redemption of the land tax; which was received with general satisfaction, and was hailed by the natives as a "golden opportunity" offered to India. He proposed to sell the forest lands at five shillings, and the cleared lands at ten shillings per acre. Here are the terms of the minute: "The sale of lands shall be granted in perpetuity, subject to no enhancement of land revenue assessment. There shall be no condition obliging the grantee to clear or cultivate. No time must be lost in having a survey made, and the survey need not embrace more details than may be necessary to define rights, and insure identification of boundaries. The collector will advertise the application for thirty days, and if no claim is preferred, a document of sale is granted. If after allotment any person shall establish a right to the property, the possession of the buyer shall not be disturbed; but if the claim shall be established within one year, the claimant shall receive from the government full compensation for the actual value of his interest in such land, and after one year all claims will be altogether barred."

Under such regulations there would have been no difficulty in Lancashire companies purchasing land, and employing Indian labourers, with European tools, for the cultivation of cotton; for the circumstances of the time were singularly favourable. The American war had passed through the initiatory phase; the great battles had

begun in real earnest; the Southern ports were blockaded; and everything betokened a long and desperate struggle. Cotton was rising rapidly in price; mills were stopping, and capital being set at liberty; whilst the whole world was being scoured for supplies of cotton. The land of India and the capital of Lancashire were both at liberty; and capitalists would doubtless have been willing to invest, for the need was great. The imports of Indian cotton have been temporarily increased to an immense extent by the mere rise in price, without security of land tenure, without a proper law for the enforcement of contracts, and without any appropriation of waste lands. What would have been the increase, if English and Indian capital could have been safely spent in improvements? But Lord Stanley had been succeeded in the India secretaryship by Sir Charles Wood; who no sooner heard of Lord Canning's minute, than he suspended, and virtually rescinded it. He condemned the plan for the redemption of the land tax, as injurious to the Indian revenue, and substituted another plan for the sale of waste lands.

To assume that the revenue of India would be injured by the redemption of the land tax at twenty years' purchase, is to admit that the measure of Lord Canning was a popular one, and would have been extensively applied; and it is quite certain that native capitalists would only have purchased for the sake of greater profit, which profit could only have been secured by capital, expended in improvements, so as to increase the produce. It is clear, therefore, that in the proportion of the adoption of this measure by the landholders of India, the government would have had twenty years' revenue in hand for public improvements; whilst the demand for labour would have been promoted, and the wealth of the country greatly increased. Capital must be worth five per cent to the Indian government, for it guarantees that amount to the shareholders in approved railway companies. On the other hand, if the minute had not found favour with the landholders, the revenue would not have been in any way affected, and therefore could not have suffered. Sir Charles Wood's instructions for the sale of waste lands were as follow:—

"MODE OF PROCEEDING.

"Waste lands are available for purchase. No greater quantity than three thousand acres shall be sold in one lot, except with the

express sanction of the government. No lot will be sold unless it has been previously surveyed and demarcated, in consequence of an application for purchase. The applicant shall deposit with the collector the estimated expense of such survey and demarcation; and, on completion of the survey, the lot shall be advertised for sale by auction to the highest bidder. If the land is sold to some other purchaser, the applicant will obtain repayment of the money he has advanced for the survey. Should he (the applicant) become the purchaser, he shall receive a deed, signed by the collector, putting him in possession of the land; subject, nevertheless, to all general taxes and local rates, and to any other claim, whether of government or otherwise, that may have been, or may hereafter be established, in any court of competent jurisdiction."

It is not difficult to see that, compared with the instructions of Lord Stanley, and the minute of Lord Canning, this plan would be eminently injurious to the Indian revenue. If a man wants land, he is first to pay for its survey, and then to advertise for competitors against himself; and then, if he outbids all competition, he is to remain without a title, and probably find that he has purchased only the right to be ruined at law. In Ireland, some years ago, many estates were subject to such complicated incumbrances that it was found impossible to sell them in the market, and they fell to an almost nominal value. Parliament passed an act to enable such estates to be sold, and gave in each case an indisputable title; and the influx of English and Scotch capital immediately brought up the value of those estates to their proper standard; and the estates were improved, the demand for labour increased, and wages raised, whilst agrarian crimes were sensibly diminished. Yet, with the full knowledge of this success, Sir Charles Wood refuses in India to give to purchasers any security of tenure, but would make the government title the worst of titles, by leaving to itself a right to make further claims, or even to revoke the sale; and leaving the purchaser liable also to have to contest either real or pretended native claims. This must surely be one of the latest governmental illustrations of "How not to do it!"

Add to this that a free-trade government, because of a deficit in the Indian revenue, actually doubled the import duties on Lancashire goods into that country, and the reader will not be surprised at the irritation felt and expressed at various public meetings against

the secretary for India. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce passed the following resolution:—"That this chamber protests against the present duty on yarns and manufactured goods, as creating a protection to native spinning and manufacturing; as an oppressive tax on the consumption of the masses; as inoperative for permanently increasing the revenue, as well as pernicious and inconsistent on the part of a nation pledged to free-trade principles." The substance of this resolution was adopted by the conference on Indian affairs, held in Manchester, 31st January, 1861, and transferred into a memorial to Sir Charles Wood, and a petition to parliament by the representatives of the various chambers of commerce who met, in London, 22nd April, 1861.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce also presented a memorial hereon to the late Lord Palmerston, which his lordship characterised as a bill of indictment against Sir Charles Wood, "in whom, however, he had the utmost confidence." Lord Canning, during his short tenure of office, and whilst Mr. Laing was financial minister, reduced the duty on yarns from about ten to five per cent; but the value of that reduction has been since in great measure frustrated, by charging the duty *ad valorem*, whilst goods are at double their normal value. The late Sir Robert Peel laid on an income tax in England when the revenue was suffering from a deficit, and adopted free-trade measures to enable the country to bear the income tax; and every succeeding step in the same direction by him and by his pupil, Mr. Gladstone, has been eminently successful; every reduction of the tariff having added to the total revenue, so that continental nations are induced to follow in our track. Sir Charles Wood takes just the opposite course; and, because the revenue of India fails, he lessens the ability of the people to pay, by fictitiously enhancing the cost of their clothing; and by encouraging them to throw away money in manufacturing goods, which they could get cheaper from England, if he would let them. So also, for fear of injuring the revenue, he prefers to keep one hundred and sixty million acres of land in waste, paying nothing and producing nothing of value, to getting an average of six shillings and eightpence per acre for it, and raising up a flourishing population upon it, who would contribute to all future taxes. If this be statesmanship, we must confess that it is a science beyond our comprehension.

The only defence of Sir Charles Wood was fiscal necessity. But Mr. Laing came home proclaiming a surplus in India, which Sir Charles, although he disputed at the time, has since been forced to admit; yet he delayed his reply to the memorial of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in 1864, until the day on which he brought forward the Indian budget, and so prevented any comment by the chamber through the representatives of the cotton districts, in the House of Commons. The explanation through Lord Wodehouse of the *ad valorem* charge was, that it was made with a view to correcting the inequality between goods charged with duty according to the tariff valuations, and those charged according to their current market values; to which the chamber replied, that the goods charged according to market values were light fabrics, which did not exceed one-fourth in value of the piece goods imported into India; whilst the remaining three-fourths were heavy goods, costing little for labour, but a heavy sum for freight; and that on these the manufacturers in India enjoyed a protection to the extent of the duty, besides the loss of time and the cost of freight of cotton from, and of manufactured goods back to, India.

It is impossible not to admire the perseverance and the temper of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. They are convinced that it would be greatly to the mutual advantage of England and of India, that the latter country should grow cotton for Lancashire manufacture, and their own interest certainly coincides with the improvement and enrichment of our grandest dependency. They have sent deputations and memorials *ad nauseum* to ministers at home; and, although continually disappointed for twenty years, they still let slip no opportunity of impressing their views upon Indian officials. They entertained and reasoned with the late Right Honourable James Wilson, who, whilst in England, was a thorough free trader; but who, finding the Indian revenue deficient, laid a tax upon the importation of Lancashire manufactures, sufficiently high to induce the erection of mills in Bombay. They appealed to, and apparently made a proper impression upon, the late Lord Canning, in respect of the objectionable land tenure; but his enlightened views were no sooner communicated home, than his proposed alteration was vetoed. They appealed to Mr. Laing, and he reduced the import duties; but, not being able to agree with Sir Charles Wood, resigned his post before he had time to complete

his contemplated measures of reform; and, as if in very spite, he had no sooner left, than Sir Charles Wood altered the definite duties into *ad valorem* charges, which, being done when yarns and cloths were at double their normal prices, was equal to a return to the old duty which had been reduced by Mr. Laing. The chamber appealed to Lord Elgin, but with no result; yet, when, in February, 1862, Mr. Massey (M.P. for Salford) was appointed finance minister for India, they, nothing daunted by past failures, made an appeal to him also.

Mr. Ross (the president) pressed upon the new minister the injustice and the impolicy of levying duties upon Lancashire yarns and cloth—the necessity of inaugurating some comprehensive scheme for the sale of waste lands—of encouraging the influx of British capital, skill, and enterprise—and he referred to a suggestion for the establishment of post office savings banks.

Mr. Cassells showed, by letters from India, that native cotton spinning at Bombay was beginning to interfere with spinners in this country, in consequence of the protection afforded by the high rate of import duties; and Mr. J. A. Turner (late M.P. for Manchester) stated that he had a tangible grievance, which admitted of a practical remedy. With a number of other gentlemen, who were anxious to promote the development of Indian resources, he had assisted to set on foot a project for the construction of cheap railways, without a government guarantee, and £2,000,000 of capital had been subscribed for the purpose. They had obtained a concession in Oude and Rohilcund, and intended to make eight hundred miles of railway. They had constructed one section of their line, which had been eminently successful; but now the company was so hampered by absurd and useless conditions, introduced into their deeds by government legal officials, that, unless these conditions were modified, the whole undertaking must be abandoned.

Of course the deputation was courteously received and listened to. But the minister could give no pledge; all his sympathies lay on the side of freedom from all restriction in commercial affairs, and against any measure which had the tendency to uphold one interest at the expense of another. The facts brought to his notice by Mr. Turner would have his immediate and careful attention. And most important were those facts. Hitherto every mile of railway made in India has had to be guaranteed by the government a return of five

per cent, whether earned or not. Here was an offer to make eight hundred miles of railway at the sole cost of the shareholders, and the bonds of red tape set the promoters fast. How different to the state of affairs in Egypt! The same newspaper which reported the interview of the deputation, published also an extract from a letter, describing the opening of a cotton ginning factory, on the eastern bank of the Nile, near Zifta, which covers six acres. The gins were fifty in number, made from the newest designs of Messrs. Platt, of Oldham; the roofing of galvanised iron from Liverpool, the engines from Manchester. An iron cistern covers the whole space of the boiler-house; the pressroom is supplied with hydraulic presses; the water for the engines is pumped by steam power from the Nile. The Egyptians saw prosperity in these innovations; and an aged Arab priest was present, performing religious rites at the opening ceremony; whilst crowds of visitors looked on with a puzzled air, to see the cotton entirely separated from the seed, and poured forth in a continuous stream, without the aid of human hands.

Why is it that the wisdom which permeates various other cotton growing countries finds no admission into India? Mr. Massey, full of free-trade ideas, no sooner arrived at Calcutta as finance minister than we got the following summary of news:—

"THE INDIAN BUDGET.

"Calcutta, April 1.

"Mr. Massey has promulgated his budget.

"*The Times* says: 'Telegrams from Calcutta, dated April 3, announce that the income tax has been taken off, and an export duty of three per cent has been imposed on jute, wool, tea, and coffee, and of two per cent on hides, sugar, and silk. At the same time the duty on grain is increased one anna per maund, and on rice it is to be three, instead of two annas. This intelligence has created great surprise, since the evil of import duties has recently been demonstrated to the Indian government by the results in the instance even of saltpetre, of which it was supposed Bengal had almost a monopoly; while the production of all the articles above enumerated has opened a wide-spread competition, so that any export duty imposed, will operate simply as a bounty to other countries.'

"The *Daily News*' city article says: 'These changes will be viewed with regret by all interested in the development of the

agricultural resources of our Indian empire, as they indicate a retrograde policy. The duty on tea, coffee, and jute is quite new, and seems especially objectionable, if regard be had to the importance of fostering the growing trade, in these promising articles of Indian produce. The alteration in the duty on rice is equivalent to an increase of fifty per cent, while Indian production and commerce are thus practically discouraged. The new finance minister for India, in abolishing the income tax, betrays a desire to curry favour with the official classes.' "

But this measure was too much even for Sir Charles Wood, who, on the news arriving home, vetoed the tax on exports. And, judging from his budget speech, on 29th June, 1865, it might almost be hoped that an impression had at last been made upon the Indian secretary, who said :—

"Upon a judicious outlay upon public works of a remunerative character depended the safety of the finances of India. He for one was fully impressed with the necessity of a judicious outlay upon public works; which facilitated communication, and developed the productive resources of the country. He believed that the local authorities, and the people themselves, would subscribe any amount of money for these objects; and he himself had told the Indian government, that he was prepared to borrow any amount, when they supplied him with a well digested plan; but he certainly would not go hand over head, and raise loans for any or every project that was started. During the last two years, there had been spent upon railways and public works £11,000,000 out of the public funds, and £2,500,000 from local sources, making, during the last seven years, a total of £73,000,000 expended upon railways and public works alone." The honourable baronet then detailed the instances of assistance afforded by the government towards the cultivation of cotton, which, he said, had been attended with great success; and said he was informed that the capitalists and merchants of Bombay were establishing in various localities, at the various railway stations, machinery for cleaning, pressing, and packing cotton.

But he had not re-enacted Lord Canning's minute for the disposal of waste lands; he did not tell the house how much of the expenditure on roads was for merely military purposes; the import duties on cotton goods into India were still in operation; and he did tell the house that capitalists and merchants of Bombay "were

also preparing to weave a description of cotton goods that would not interfere with English manufacture, but would supersede the wasteful process of hand-loom weaving, and allow the persons, who were so employed, to engage in agricultural pursuits."

Here is the statement of an important fact. The import duties on Manchester goods encouraged the building of mills for spinning in Bombay, and their continuance has now secured the next step—the commencement of weaving factories. It is indisputable, for we have it even on the authority of Sir Charles Wood, that India could profitably grow a good quality of cotton, as cheaply as any other place upon earth, if the great quasi landlord (the government) would only give them proper encouragement, by providing the means of irrigation and of communication: it is equally indisputable that Lancashire can manufacture cotton more cheaply than any other country, and the interest of England and India, therefore, dictates the freest possible commercial intercourse; and yet the secretary for India prevents this intercourse, by the imposition of protective duties, because that is the easiest mode of raising a present revenue, although it sacrifices the growth in favour of the manufacture of cotton. It is the fable of the goose which laid the golden eggs, put into actual practice by Sir Charles Wood.

Large as is the sum spent during the last seven years on India, it represents less than two years' revenue, after a hundred years of neglect and extortion; and it must never be forgotten that the first duty of a government is to develop the resources of a country; and the first step in development is the provision of roads. The Romans understood this duty when they came to Britain, and performed it so well that we derive benefit from their work even now. In India, works for irrigation, and piers for the convenience of loading and unloading the imported and exported merchandise, are equally necessary, and might all be made sources of permanent revenue. But Sir Charles has indicated his willingness to spend any amount of money for a well-digested plan, and perhaps the profitable outlay of a great landlord at home may, in some respects, exhibit a picture of what is to be desired for India.

The *Newcastle Chronicle*, at the decease of the late Duke of Northumberland, gave the following particulars respecting his estates:—"The extent and nature of his grace's possessions in the county may be summed up as follows:—

	Acres.
In woodlands	3,000
In hill pastures, grass lands, &c. . . .	116,200
In tillage occupation	38,900
In waste rock, sea shore, &c. . . .	4,700
In all	162,800

The average size of the farms is about two hundred and fifty acres; the largest arable farm belonging to the duke is nine hundred acres. The following abstracts of the amounts expended by the duke on the estate since he came into possession, in 1847, will show how clearly his grace understood his responsibilities as a large land proprietor, and how fully he discharged them. The amounts, under their respective heads, are made up to December 31, 1863, and are exclusive of the large outlay upon Alnwick Castle and other residences, churches, parsonages, &c. :—

For roads, bridges, &c. . . .	£39,689	0	1
For buildings, cottages, &c. . .	308,336	12	9
For draining	176,582	4	0
	£524,607	16	10"

The Duke of Northumberland found it advantageous to himself to spend, in sixteen years, £3. 5s. per acre, or upwards of three shillings per annum, two-fifths of which was for roads, bridges, and draining alone, in a country supposed to be pretty well developed already; whilst Sir Charles Wood boasts of an expenditure of six shillings and a penny per acre in seven years, or a little over tenpence per annum, in a country where bullocks have to carry cotton one thousand miles to port; and the fact is, that a large portion of that amount will not sensibly benefit the people of India, being intended mainly to facilitate military operations.

It is not assumed by the above parallel that the duties of the government of India include a larger share of landlord responsibilities than the provision of roads and piers, and the improvement of water courses; if, in addition to this, they would do what is incumbent on all governments—provide good laws, and see them well administered—we should soon have a different state of affairs; and India would, indeed, become "the brightest jewel in the British crown."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Objects of the Manchester Cotton Company—Expectations of Government Help—Promises of the Indian Secretary—Dr. Forbes on the Necessity for Roads and Piers in India—Evidence of the Indian Manager of the Company—The *Madras Times* on the Necessary Measures to Insure Cotton Cultivation—Loss of Capital, and Winding-up of the Company—The Anglo-Indian Cotton Company—Conclusion.

THE Manchester Cotton Company (Limited) originated in a meeting held in the town hall, Manchester, 14th September, 1860. Its nominal capital was £100,000, afterwards raised to £1,000,000. The prospectus stated the objects of the company to be—"To encourage and promote the increased cultivation of cotton in every part of the world suited to its growth; to create a direct and thoroughly effective agency between the grower of cotton in India, Australia, Africa, the West Indies, and other countries, and the consumer in England." The suggested prospectus, which accompanied the circular calling the meeting, said:—"India possesses the great requisites for growing cotton for useful and general purposes of consumption, and probably in no other country can it be grown so cheaply, or better adapted to the wants of the most extensive section of the great cotton industry. To the supplies of cotton from the East Indies, it is therefore recommended that nine-tenths of the capital of the company shall be devoted. * * * It is believed that in the East Indies and in Australia, the government will render every possible facility, which can contribute to the success of the great object of the company. The government will make free grants of land, or concessions of land on terms almost equal to a gift; and assistance, where needed, to procure labour would be afforded. The government officers would be instructed to support the just interests of the company, and to protect its rights and property." The third paragraph in the prospectus, as ultimately issued, ran thus:—"The company will endeavour to stimulate a largely-increased production of cotton of improved quality, by the introduction of superior kinds of seed, the best agricultural imple-

ments, machinery for cleaning, and presses for packing; and, with the promised aid of government, will co-operate in developing increased facilities of transport."

The rate at which new machinery for the cotton manufacture was being produced, in 1860, was sufficient to use up an extra four hundred thousand bales of cotton per annum; and there was no possibility of any such increase of cotton being procured from the Southern States of North America. This, and the fear of disasters in America, were the pleas urged to prove the necessity for the establishment of the Manchester Cotton Company. But no one present at the inauguration meeting seems to have had the slightest idea of the manner in which the immediately pending crisis would be brought about. Mr. Bazley, M.P., who occupied the chair, asked—"Is it safe, is it discreet, for a commercial country to depend mainly on one source of supply—and that a foreign source—for the chief part of its raw material? If unhappily some great calamity should arise—if disease should attack the black population of North America—if a revolt should occur there—if tempest should destroy a crop—what recriminations should we hear on the part of statesmen, and merchants, traders, manufacturers, and spinners, about the negligence and culpability of some persons who had not, by provident regulation, arranged for more regular and less dependent supply of this great raw material!"

The first annual report showed that the executive committee had, by deputation and otherwise, been in communication with the Right Honourable Sir Charles Wood, the secretary for India, and that the government had agreed:—1st. To order the completion of the road at Kyga Ghat, from Dharwar to Sedashegur, without delay.—2nd. To construct a landing and shipping pier at Sedashegur.—3rd. To afford to the company the opportunity of purchasing land at the new port of Sedashegur for the erection of cotton-gin factories, presshouses, offices, and stores.—4th. To send out instructions to the various government officers to afford to Mr. Haywood, the special commissioner of the company to India, all the assistance and information in their power.

The special commissioner sailed in July, 1861, with instructions to procure an interview, when in Egypt, with the viceroy, and to pass through and report upon the cotton districts of that country. On arrival at Bombay he was to inquire into and report upon the present

system of conducting the cotton trade; to seek out suitable agents for the company's operations; to settle the position of the presshouse at Sedashegur; to report on the progress of the harbour and pier, and on the condition of the road from Sedashegur to Bunkapoor; to visit the cotton districts of Dharwar, and to decide the place for the head quarters of the company.

At the date of the first report (August, 1862) there had been sent out seven hundred and twenty-four cotton gins, six large hydraulic presses, ten screw presses, fifty bullock-power machines, two steam engines and the requisite shafting, &c.; which, it was estimated, would suffice to clean one thousand four hundred bales of cotton per week, or seventy-two thousand eight hundred bales, of four hundred pounds each, per annum; whilst the six presses would press one bale per minute. A second ship load of machinery and stores had also been despatched. But, when the special commissioner had completed his work, and was ready to leave India, the road from Sedashegur to Dharwar was not available for use; it had been made twelve feet wide, but so made, that the monsoon had washed it away again.

The second report of the company, dated 4th September, 1863, stated that a deputation to Sir Charles Wood on the 25th October, 1862, had complained of the non-fulfilment of the promises of the government, to construct a landing and shipping pier at the Bay of Beitcul, and to construct a road, leading from the Bay of Beitcul to the cotton fields of Dharwar. Sir Charles repeatedly denied having made any such promises; whilst Messrs. J. Platt (now M.P. for Oldham) and W. Wanklyn, both of whom were present at the time when the promise was affirmed to have been given, reiterated that the formation of the company was based upon the undertaking of the government, to open roads between the port and the cotton fields. To show the necessity of such roads, the chairman of the annual meeting read from a communication by Dr. Forbes (the reporter on Indian products to the government), dated 5th March, 1861, as follows:—

"The want of good roads and other means of communication between the interior and the sea-board, as well as of suitable convenience for the shipment of produce at the existing ports, are still, as they long have been, the acknowledged impediments to the development of India's resources. This is more especially the case

as regards the production of cotton; and nowhere is it more perceptibly felt than in the provinces of the Southern Mahratta country, to which you are turning your attention.

"The cotton exported from these districts is at present taken to the port of Compta, whence it is conveyed in native open boats to Bombay harbour, for final shipment to England. At Compta there is what is called an inland creek, in which these native boats might find shelter in bad weather, were it not that a formidable 'bar' prevents them obtaining access to it. They are consequently compelled to remain outside, at anchor in an open roadstead, exposed to the dangers of a lee shore, should a storm set in; and during the period of the south-west monsoon (which may be at any time from May to September) they very rarely attempt to approach the place. Owing also to the imperfect state of the communication with the interior, only a very small proportion of the cotton of each season, finds its way to Compta (even from the nearest districts) in time for the boat transport to Bombay; the remainder being detained at the places of growth, imperfectly stored, and ill protected from the wet and damp of the monsoon.

"To add to this evil also, so ill adapted is Compta for the export of produce, owing to local difficulties, such as unbridged creeks, watercourses, &c., in the immediate neighbourhood of the harbour; that cotton, after arriving at that place, has to undergo no less than five changes of transport before it is deposited on board the native boats in the roadstead; and the result is, that the actual cost of its transport, even thus far on its way to England (about seventy shillings per ton), very nearly equals that of its cultivation and production. If to this is added deterioration of quality, from the causes mentioned, and the interest of capital sunk by the time lost under the present system of exportation—which rarely admits of the produce arriving at home under eighteen months—some idea may be formed of the disadvantages which India's cotton has to contend with, in competing with that of America.

"It is to the necessity for the immediate construction of one or two piers that I would beg to draw your attention; and in doing so, I also wish to represent that the work can only be looked upon as bearing directly upon commercial interests; and as far as cotton alone is concerned, the result would be—taking the average freight at fifty shillings per ton, and adding twenty-six shillings for

inland carriage, and say two shillings for final pressing—that the produce would be conveyed from the cotton fields to Liverpool, at a cost of £3. 18s. per ton, instead of being subjected to an expense of £7. 5s., as is the case at present by the Bombay route; or, in other words, that the Lancashire spinners might have it delivered at their doors, at actually less cost of carriage than the Bombay mills have to pay for it at present, which is about £4. 15s. per ton."

These reasonings were intended to show the advantages of the port of Sedashegur for the purposes of the cotton company; and we add two more facts from the same authority, viz.: First, that "there are no wharves at Bombay harbour; cotton bales have, therefore, to be put on board ship by means of boats, and ship captains assert that, even in that port, where every convenience is provided, the expense of boat hire, superintendence, &c., amounts to three rupees, or six shillings, per ton." Second, "a better harbour than Sedashegur offers, with easy access to such cotton fields as those of the Southern Mahratta country, cannot be shown upon the map of India; and, besides the fact that by no other means can the valuable cotton produce of these districts be obtained so cheaply and expeditiously as by this channel, it can be shown that, of all the projects now under consideration for increasing our colonial exports of cotton, from India and elsewhere, there is not one capable of being realised with such immediate results."

Here we have proof from a government official of the necessity and the value, both to India and to England, of the work which the company had engaged to perform. But it is impossible to give, in a small space, a comprehensive view of the difficulties which the company had to encounter. They (whether justified or not in their conclusions) acted upon the full faith of a government promise that, by the time their first vessel got to the port of Sedashegur, a pier and road would be ready for them; instead of which they found no appearance of a pier, and were obliged to land their machinery from deep water, three quarters of a mile from where it was needed; and then found no road by which to transport it. Then there was a six weeks' quarrel between the Madras and Bombay governments, as to which the port of Sedashegur belonged, and the company could not get possession until this was settled; then they had to build a pier for themselves, in order to anticipate the arrival of the second vessel with machinery and stores. If they had been ready to use the promised

road over the Ghauts the first season after their arrival, it would not have been available; and when it was really made, it was so made that the first monsoon washed it away. In March, 1863, the road which was promised to be ready in November, 1861, was still incomplete; and the manager of the company had to send round by Compta, gins, presses, cattle, engines, and machinery, for a workshop at Hooblee, ninety-two miles from Beitcul. The Indian manager says he rode over the Ryga Ghat road in April, 1864, and found it still in a very unfinished state. The delays and difficulties to which the company had been subjected, had then lost them two years' trade, dissipated much of their capital, and dissatisfied the shareholders. They saw, with great mortification, that whilst office clerks and men without capital had, in Liverpool, in Bombay, and in Calcutta, made tens of thousands of pounds, during the three years of the American war, by dealing in cotton; they had £70,000 lying idle and melting away, in the country from whence the bulk of this cotton had come; and where its active use in cotton purchases, would probably have realised a thousand per cent. But they were now ready for active work, having established machinery at three stations in the interior, as well as at the port; and hoped slowly to retrieve their disasters; and, whilst making good profits for themselves, to be of considerable service to India and to England. They had surmounted difficulties which, except for the extraordinary circumstances of the times, and the absolute necessity of gathering the raw material from every possible source, would have driven them from the peninsula; they had missed a golden harvest for the present, but had laid the foundations for future and permanent usefulness. The cultivators of, and dealers in, cotton, in the Dharwar district, had also missed the opportunity of dealing direct with England, during the season of highest prices; and the export to England, being thereby lessened, the cotton operatives and the general public at home, had also suffered from this governmental neglect. The duty of road making, if not pier building, is admitted, and is promised to be performed; but the neglect which ensues, and the manner of the work, when done, are alike suggestive of the great "circumlocution office," and illustrative of the axiom—"How not to do it!"

The *Madras Times* (copied into the *Manchester Guardian* of 21st October, 1864), speaking of cotton cultivation in India, says:—"Mr. Brown, of Aujarakaudy, whose practical knowledge of the

subject we are now discussing few individuals, unconnected with officialdom, will be prepared to question, attributes the ruin of cotton cultivation in this country, to the selfish and oppressive system of government, pursued for so many years by the late East India Company; and in a recently-published pamphlet upon 'The Supply of Cotton from India' he very succinctly sets forth the reasons, and adduces the facts, which warrant the conclusion to which he arrives. That conclusion is, to use his own words, that 'a Sirkar proclamation should be put forth in the most authoritative manner, and personally circulated by the collectors of the provinces; suspending for five years, the tax on all land, that in the yearly rotation of crops may be cultivated with cotton; leaving the tax on all other land untouched.' No measure short of this will, in the opinion of Mr. Brown, 'directly reach the grower; nor will any other secure his receiving the price he ought to get for his cotton; for no other will enable him to hold his cotton, and save him from being obliged to take the Bunniah's price for it, in order to pay his money land tax.' The proposition is not a new one. Mr. Brown urged its adoption twenty-five years ago, and, in a powerfully-written letter to government, dated August 10, 1862, again pressed its consideration upon our local rulers. These authorities condemned it as being not only 'opposed to sound policy,' but liable also to render 'every experiment unsatisfactory and inconclusive.' Other objections, of greater force, have been brought against it, which our space will not allow us to enter upon more fully; and the fact that the home government have already more than once expressly prohibited its trial, is perhaps quite sufficient to render any further efforts to obtain even its experimental adoption futile. In remembering, however, the acknowledged inability of the government to aid the native cultivator, in his attempts to compete with the slave owner of America, we should bear in mind that ample evidence has been afforded, of the ease with which the cotton plant can be naturalised in this country. It can be, and has been, grown in every climate ranging from that which is rainless, to tracts where the annual rainfall is from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty inches; and it thrives not only in that rich black earth which has become identified with its name ('cotton soil'), but also in the ordinary red clay which principally constitutes the rest of the agricultural soil of India.

"Let us now, for a moment, turn our eyes from India to Turkey. There, also, for many years the cotton trade was comparatively annihilated by American competition. But immediately the prospect of a failure of the cotton supply from the United States presented itself, what did the Turkish government do? It abolished, for five years, all taxes upon cotton-growing land, and set apart money for the construction of roads. And what has been the result of a step so (according to our government's views) 'opposed to sound policy?' Let the following extract from a short article in the *Smyrna Mail* bear witness:—'It is estimated that Turkey will produce this year from five hundred thousand to six hundred thousand bales of cotton—without Egypt; and should the present high prices continue, it will give the startling result, that Turkey will receive nearly one-quarter of the value of the whole American crop of cotton sent to England four years ago; thus proving that circumstances may be such as to permanently enrich a country, if the government fosters and protects its resources.' And not only in Turkey is cotton cultivation making such significant strides onwards. In Italy it is being carried on with marked and increasing success. In Sardinia, in Elba, and even in parts of Piedmont, we read and hear of its rapid progress. But it is only to poor misruled India, with its unblushing, obstinate, and incapable state secretary, and its meek, helpless, and timid local governments, that the retributive embarrassments of slave-driving America, have failed to prove an opportunity for stimulating the industry of the many, instead of pandering to the passion of the gambling, grasping, speculating few."

Mr. Bazley, in *The Exchange*, for January, 1862, speaking of the capacity of India for the growth of cotton, says:—"From the Dharwar district, cotton is now obtained of a quality quite equal to middling American, and which yields satisfactory profit to its cultivator; and for this boon a great debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Shaw, who caused the average yield to be quadrupled, and its market-worth per pound to be doubled, thereby affording an eightfold benefit to the ryots, who now declare that their cotton culture is their gold gathering—their whole crop being now about two hundred thousand bales. If every part of India, where cotton is grown, were rendered equally productive, the entire crop would be four times the extent of the present yield; and the market price of

the superior produce being double that of the inferior, we should have the eightfold advantage extended over the whole dominion; and in place of a yearly production of four million bales, for which the ryot has not been paid an average of twopence per pound, there would be grown sixteen million bales, worth £96,000,000! Tempting as this picture is, it really only represents half the advantage which would accrue from the improved cultivation of cotton in India; because, any large portion of such a crop of cotton, coming to this country, would only be paid for by extended exports, chiefly of cotton manufactures."

At the annual meeting of the Manchester Cotton Company, held in the summer of 1864, the report of the governmental annoyances and neglect, and the consequent loss of capital, was so disheartening, that it led to a resolution to wind-up; and the whole stock and plant in India, which had cost nearly £70,000, was ultimately sold, to a firm of enterprising Indian merchants, for about £17,000. Such a result is most disappointing and aggravating; but there is still room for hope that the company proposed to be founded, in India, upon these ruins, may, by active superintendence on the spot, together with a fuller understanding of the necessities and difficulties of the trade, meet with better success. The machinery is there—the workshops are prepared—roads will surely be some day ready—and earnings, which would leave the defunct company without dividend, will suffice to pay six per cent to the new operators.

But a little more energy, and a somewhat higher sense of justice, in the mind of Sir Charles Wood, might have saved the capital of this company; and by aiding its operations, would, by securing its success, have led to further efforts from this side; and have thus induced a large measure of prosperity both here and in India. But in whatever direction we look, the same complaints about the secretary for India meet us; rendering it evident that the short-sightedness of a single official is sacrificing the interests of both countries. Lord Stanley saw the wisdom of the course proposed by the Cotton Supply Association, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and the Manchester Cotton Company, and Lord Canning inaugurated the change required; but Sir Charles Wood has stopped all progress; the waste lands are not sold, because they are not offered on saleable terms; a proper law of contract is not passed, and the

required roads into the cotton districts, which are to open the way to unexampled prosperity, are delayed, because prosperity is not already achieved.

A company called "The Anglo-Indian Cotton Company" was originated in 1862, also in Manchester; and the directors prudently sent out their manager to India, before taking any practical steps; and on the receipt of his report, setting forth the difficulties to be encountered, they also prudently resolved for the present, to keep their money in the bank. The great want of India is English capital, accompanied by English energy; and any amount of English capital and English energy are ready for a good investment. India and England hold out their arms to each other, ready for a prosperous and permanent union, but the secretary for India forbids the banns. Lord Russell aids the cultivation of cotton in every suitable foreign country; Sir Charles Wood hinders it in our chief dependency. Either this hindrance is the work of one official, or else the collective action of the government says practically—"We will aid in the cultivation and improvement of the staple of cotton, anywhere and everywhere except in India; that is our great military farm, and we don't want commercial settlers there."

We have no wish to adjudicate between Sir Charles Wood and the various commercial bodies and cotton companies; but, after his own acknowledgment of the successful experiments in Dharwar and Madras, and after the stimulant of the great prices of the last three years, we may surely hope for an improved quality and larger quantity of cotton from India; and, since the revenue is now prosperous, we may also hope for the utmost freedom of commercial intercourse between this country and the Indian peninsula.

We have now completed our task; and, to the best of our ability, brought down the history of Lancashire industry to present date. We have found that a county, which is inferior in soil and climate to many in the United Kingdom, has yet, by means of its staple employment, increased in population and in real property more rapidly than any other. We have seen how, in consequence of the

cheapness and the peculiar adaptability of the cotton fibre to almost all the purposes of clothing, it has to a considerable extent superseded linen, woollen, and silk, amongst the majority of the inhabitants of this country; and has also come to rank first in the annual returns of exports. We have seen the growing demand for goods, aided by the mechanical genius which necessity seems always to develop, supersede the domestic wheel and loom by the most perfect machinery ever produced; and the free and easy home life of the people, exchanged for systematic and associated work, carried on with as much regularity and punctuality as the alternations of day and night. Under this system, we have seen industrial life develop into massive strength, and associations of workmen, by means of trade and friendly societies, grappling on equal terms with rich capitalists; occasionally doing great mischief, but struggling gradually, and with much effort, into the knowledge and practice of economical laws—saving and productively applying, instead of wasting capital; and bidding fair to become ere long, as their great grandfathers once were, owners of much of the machinery which affords them employment.

We have seen towns rise so rapidly, under the stimulus of this great industry, that there has been no chance for regular plans, either for streets or for buildings, and no opportunity for sanitary arrangements; so that, whilst population has increased much more rapidly than ordinary, the grim spectre, Death, has also secured much more than his proper share.

We have seen how Anglo-Saxon energy, even under the enervating influences of a tropical or semi-tropical climate, in the Southern States of North America, has yet practically superseded the cotton growth of all other countries; and extended the accursed legacy left to them by this country, until it threatened to become a permanent slave empire. We have seen "vaunting ambition o'erleap itself," and the boasted strength of eight millions of people, holding in bondage four millions of human chattels, completely paralysed, and their country reduced again to chaos; whilst the shock of the convulsion has crossed three thousand miles of ocean, and has shaken the foundations of society in Lancashire; demonstrating practically what many persons had attempted to teach—the fatal danger of reliance upon one investment for safety and progress.

We have endeavoured to depict the condition and sufferings of the people under their great trials—the unexampled benevolence which sprang to their aid—the organisations which were improvised for the collection and distribution of funds—the action of the poor-law board, and of the various boards of guardians; and we have found that, whilst the provisions of the poor-law were quite adequate to the requirements of ordinary times, special measures were necessary for special occasions; and that a wider area of rating will be a permanent improvement. We have also tried to calculate the losses of workmen and employers; and to follow the course of the diverted current of demand, from the cotton, through the linen, woollen, and worsted trades; and we have tried to extract a moral from the whole.

The master evil—dependence upon a single source of supply for the raw material of a great manufacture—will probably be effectually dealt with, for many years to come, by the joint operation of the Cotton Supply Association, or some organisation springing out of it, and the abolition of American slavery, which latter measure will make the competition equal in all cotton-growing countries; but there are various minor features of Lancashire life which will require earnest and patient attention.

The great demand for juvenile labour prevents education; and it will be necessary, in the absence of a rate-paid education in free schools, with compulsory powers of attendance, to generalise the Factories Education Act, so as to make it applicable to all employments, thus making employers responsible for the instruction of their juvenile workers; and it will also be necessary to take measures to secure the competence of the teachers in factory schools. If, in addition to this, the elective franchise was conferred upon all youths, as soon as they reach twenty-one years of age, who shall have earned certificates, under the examinations of the Society of Arts, the Government Science Department, or the middle-class examinations of the Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham universities, an immense impetus would be given to secondary educational institutes and to self-culture; and the examinations above referred to would be extended and perpetuated.

One humiliating peculiarity of Lancashire is the excess of female crime; arising, probably, from the early independence of girls, and from the loss of the domestic and home influences, involved by the

factory work of married women. How this great evil is to be remedied is far from plain; and we can only hope that improved education will achieve the desired result.

The Public Works Act, and the Union Chargeability Act, are the immediate offspring of the cotton famine; and if the first of these were rendered permanent, so that in any future calamity it might be at once resorted to, much evil would be prevented; for a considerable proportion of such works as are set forth in Appendix No. 2 could be accomplished by unskilled labourers, under efficient superintendence; and the sanitary results of these works, are quite a sufficient recommendation for their being undertaken, in any locality where there is a single mile of unpaved or unsewered street, or where proper water works or cemetery do not already exist; whilst the terms on which the money can be profitably lent by government (three and a half per cent) makes the burden of repayment almost unfelt. With regard to the Union Chargeability Act, its operation, in any similar crisis, will inevitably point to the adoption of a still wider basis for rating; because the diffierences of rating, between union and union, will be quite as great, as were the differences between township and township, in the same union, prior to the passage of the bill; and there is no reason for equalising the rates between township and township, which does not apply, with the same force, between union and union, or even between county and county, except that each union is under separate jurisdiction, which matter is also capable of remedy.

The final business meeting of the general committee was held December 4th, 1865, when the reports from the various districts showed that the recipients of parochial relief had fallen to within seven hundred and thirty of those at the same date in 1861, when the stoppage of mills had barely commenced. So small a residuum of pauperism, from a long period of severe distress, is unparalleled; and speaks well for the independent character of Lancashire operatives, and also for the management of the boards of guardians and relief committees. It is singularly pleasing also, to find that of the localities which suffered first and most heavily from the cotton famine, Wigan alone remains more heavily burdened than usual, having 1,178 more recipients of relief than in November, 1861; whilst Ashton, Blackburn, Glossop, Preston, and

Stockport have respectively 410, 27, 26, 2,428, and 485 fewer dependents than at the former season. In Bury and in Chorlton-upon-Medlock distress still lingers; but elsewhere the guardians of the poor feel that "the cotton famine has come and gone," and they have now returned to their ordinary duties—looking after permanent and casual cases, and enforcing disagreeable tests to save the pockets of the ratepayers.

The business of the committee ended very appropriately in a hearty vote of thanks to the central executive; and the inauguration of a testimonial in recognition of the services of Mr. Maclure, the honorary secretary.

The following report of the central executive was received and adopted :—

"At the meeting of the general committee in March last, a hope was expressed that it might be possible during the summer months entirely to discontinue the distribution of relief through the local committees. This anticipation, the central executive committee is happy to state, has been fully realised, and since the 19th June last, no grants have been made to any district. Your committee trusts that it will not be necessary to resume the distribution of relief; but in the still exceptional state of the cotton trade, it is thought more prudent to defer the consideration of the disposal of the balance remaining in the treasurer's hands. It is with no little satisfaction that your committee contemplates the extraordinary crisis which has been passed through since 1862. There has actually been a diminution of crime under circumstances when, from compulsory idleness and poverty, an increase might have been expected. Notwithstanding the gloomy forebodings of those who, in the early part of the distress, expressed their opinion that the distribution of relief through exceptional channels, would tend to a permanent increase of pauperism in the district, returns from twenty-eight unions prove that the pauperism of the cotton district has been reduced to the ordinary level. As the last week in November, 1862, was the time when almost the largest number of persons were in receipt of relief,* returns have been obtained

* The largest number relieved at any one time was in December, 1862, when two hundred and thirty-four thousand eight hundred and sixty-six were relieved by the local committees, and two hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and eighty-eight by the guardians, making a total of four hundred and eighty-five thousand four hundred and fifty-four persons in receipt of relief.

from the guardians for the corresponding week in November, 1865; and the following figures show the numbers relieved by them at that time in 1861 and 1865, and by the guardians and relief committees in 1862, 1863, and 1864:

	1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.
Ashton-under-Lyne .	1,827	56,363	23,568	20,638	1,417
Barton-on-Irwell . .	663	3,910	1,230	1,220	896
Blackburn	4,110	38,104	9,457	10,012	4,083
Bolton	3,200	19,525	8,013	6,543	3,166
Burnley	1,503	17,502	3,016	6,948	1,557
Bury	1,782	20,926	10,048	15,113	2,932
Chorley	1,350	7,527	3,409	2,471	1,155
Chorlton	2,042	15,367	9,984	5,694	3,993
Clitheroe	624	1,379	976	1,138	547
Fylde (The)	633	1,282	1,086	771	699
Garstang	567	1,026	696	807	458
Glossop	221	7,605	6,752	3,263	195
Haslingden . . .	946	17,346	3,340	7,108	1,243
Lancaster	903	1,129	1,025	901	789
Leigh	636	2,722	1,091	901	806
Macclesfield . . .	2,158	5,609	2,775	2,429	2,319
Manchester	4,678	52,477	13,818	9,035	5,046
Oldham	1,622	28,851	8,371	9,164	1,892*
Preston	4,805	49,171	17,489	13,226	2,377
Prestwich	601	4,794	1,958	1,078	593
Rochdale	2,060	24,961	8,132	6,243	1,789
Saddleworth . . .	237	2,414	1,287	988	261
Salford	2,507	16,663	5,600	3,600	2,265
Skipton	1,902	2,635	1,856	2,030	1,354
Stockport	1,674	34,612	10,661	8,593	1,189
Todmorden	795	7,590	1,689	2,696	668
Warrington	1,131	1,992	1,416	1,458	1,220
Wigan	2,360	14,959	11,527	5,855	3,538
Total . .	47,537	458,441	170,268	149,923	48,267

* Returns for previous week inserted, this week's not having been sent in yet.

"Your committee cannot refrain from expressing at this opportunity its highest sense of the credit due to the local committees for the results it is now able to record; the self-denial, energy, and judgment which these bodies have brought to bear upon their labours cannot be over-estimated. The balance in hand of this fund is now £37,546. 18s.; and of the cotton districts relief fund £59,674. 5s. 3d. — Signed on behalf of the central executive committee,

"DERBY, chairman.

"JOHN WM. MACLURE, honorary secretary."

Mr. Ross, president of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, read the minutes of a special meeting of the central executive committee, at which it was unanimously resolved that a testimonial from that committee should form primarily, a recognition of the valuable services of Mr. J. W. Maclure, the honorary secretary of the relief fund; and that the resolution be communicated to the general committee, that it might take such steps as it deemed proper in support of the testimonial. Lord Derby was requested to make the communication. The members of the central executive committee had each contributed towards the object, and had raised £1,096, which would remain a sum entirely distinct from any additional subscription on the part of others.

The Earl of Derby said: By the direction of the central executive committee, I have to bring before you the resolution, which has been passed unanimously by that body, with reference to the recognition of the services of Mr. Maclure. But before I say a word upon that subject, allow me to congratulate you and the county—which I think I may do most conscientiously—upon the satisfactory character of the report which you have just heard read. Not only has there been a reduction of the amount of pauperism, after the severe struggle through which the county has gone, to a figure very little exceeding that of 1861, which was in the highest and most flourishing state of the cotton manufacture, but there is a considerable sum still left in hand; and, what I consider is of infinitely more importance than either the one or the other, there has been an infinitely less amount of demoralisation and deterioration in the independent character of the working men of the county than could have been possibly expected, when so large a sum was to be distributed in gratuitous relief. I think those who were the most favourable to expenditure of money for the charitable purposes in which we have been employed, had forebodings, and I confess that I had myself forebodings, that such a large sum of money could not by possibility be expended, without a very injurious effect upon the character of the working classes, who had to receive that amount of relief. And it is most satisfactory to perceive—and the surest test of it is that there is no increase in the demand for parochial relief—that though to a certain extent that result may have followed, the result has been in a very infinitesimally small propor-

tion to the amount of relief which has been afforded, and the risk which I don't hesitate to say was incurred. Gentlemen, in bringing before you the immediate subject of the resolution, I wish to state, in the first place, that I hope no discussion will take place now with regard to the final disposal of the surplus still remaining on hand. Still more do I hope that no discussion will take place with regard to the best mode of dealing with that surplus, supposing we had it in our power. But I think it may be convenient to say that in the course of the spring, the Bridgewater House committee, contemplating the possibility of a surplus being finally left, thought themselves called upon to take the opinion of counsel as to what powers they had of diverting the sum to any other than the strict purpose for which it was subscribed. The opinion of counsel was that we had no power to divert it to any other purpose, except upon an application to the Court of Chancery; but that the Court of Chancery, taking into consideration all the circumstances of the case, would probably be disposed to look favourably upon any scheme which might be proposed by the committee, for the permanent disposal of the surplus still in hand. Now, it is quite obvious that any scheme of that kind requires very deliberate consideration, before it is submitted to the Court of Chancery. On the other hand, I think I may say, as the unanimous opinion of the executive committee, that it is not desirable to keep on hand a very large balance beyond the time at which we may feel tolerably secure against any recurrence of the cotton famine. I think that it will not be thought desirable that the fund should remain in hand, to be looked upon as available for meeting any casual and temporary fluctuation of employment. I think that there would be very serious injury done if that principle were acted upon, and that we ought to dispose finally of our surplus, as soon as we are satisfied that there is no probability or reasonable expectation of anything approaching to the distress which we have gone through recurring again. But the state of the cotton trade is so uncertain, and must be so uncertain for the next few months, that I hope there will be a unanimous concurrence in the opinion, that it is advisable to keep this fund on hand for a few months before its final disposal. Now, gentlemen, in looking back to the period which we have gone through, of three years of intense distress, there is one other most gratifying circum-

stance to which I must advert—the manner in which throughout the whole of the country, all classes and all ranks, have each in their several localities, exerted themselves towards the diminution of distress; and not only by their pecuniary contributions, but by their personal labours and their personal superintendence. To the local committees the report does no more than justice, in speaking of the judgment, the discretion, the ability and zeal with which they have discharged the duties which were imposed upon them—duties often very painful, very invidious—the duty of keeping a strict watch over the funds entrusted to their charge, and also the duty of bringing their cases before us without undue pressure, or arguing too strongly in favour of their own personal and local interests. With regard to all these matters, we cannot but be most grateful, for the services which have been rendered both by the local executive committees generally, and by those gentlemen who have represented them on the central executive committee. Members of that committee have also, each in their own districts, laboured with a zeal, and diligence, and industry, which I trust will in every case meet with their reward, in the increased respect and affection borne to them by their poorer neighbours. But among all those who have laboured, and laboured diligently and earnestly, for the promotion of the great object we had in view, I think I may venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that there has been no person whose services have been so unflagging, so invaluable, and so unceasing, as those of the honorary secretary, Mr. Maclure. For three and a half years he has gratuitously performed the duties of that office, and has to my own knowledge for weeks, I believe I might say for months together, devoted, certainly very much to his own inconvenience and loss, a period of not less than twelve hours out of every four-and-twenty, to the vast amount of business which pressed upon him in reference to this relief committee. That the accounts have been kept with fidelity, care, and accuracy, that the money has not been wastefully squandered, that a strict watch has been kept over its application; and finally, that as compared with the total amount expended, the per centage required for superintendence and for expenses has been infinitely lower than ever was known with regard to a subscription of this magnitude—for a very great portion of this we are certainly indebted to the care, the unceasing energy, and the vigilance which

have been displayed by Mr. Maclure; and it was the unanimous opinion of the central executive committee that it would be a matter of positive ingratitude if, at the period at which we have arrived, even although we have not possibly arrived at the final close of our labours, we were longer to defer such a recognition of his services as it was felt that they were fully and amply entitled to. I must say also that, the question having been raised whether it was competent or desirable that any portion of the public funds should be taken in order, not to remunerate (because really such services are beyond pecuniary remuneration), but to recognise the services which have been so rendered—the moment that question was raised, Mr. Maclure said that under no circumstances would he receive a single shilling, in remuneration for his services, from the funds which have been subscribed by the public. That being the case, and we being desirous of showing our esteem for Mr. Maclure, and the value attaching to his services—services which may in many cases have brought down upon him no inconsiderable amount of unpopularity in those districts where they felt the pressure put upon them by the central committee, we felt that it would be impossible for us longer to delay the expression of our own opinion; and consequently, in the executive committee, it was agreed that we should subscribe among ourselves, as from the central executive, a sum of money sufficient to give Mr. Maclure a very handsome testimonial of our esteem and gratitude, and at the same time to accompany it with a sum of money in addition to whatever testimonial might be finally decided upon. We have discharged what we felt to be our duty in entering into this subscription, and in reporting it to the general committee. It will now be for the general committee, and for those who have had the opportunity of witnessing and estimating the value of Mr. Maclure's services, to say whether they will or will not be willing to join in this expression of gratitude and this recognition of his services; and we leave it in your hands whether any further steps shall be taken in the matter.

A sub-committee was then appointed for the Maclure testimonial; and the following resolution was also unanimously adopted by the meeting:—

"That the hearty thanks of the committee are due, and are hereby given to the Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, chairman of the central executive, who, by his high position, great influ-

ence, and personal attendance, did much to secure the confidence of the public in the committee; to Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth, vice-chairman, whose previous official experience and great executive power have been most valuable during three and a half years of constant labour and anxiety; to J. W. Maclure, Esq., honorary secretary, whose constant supervision and untiring energy and activity, in the service of the committee have been unparalleled, and whose statistical reports will be most valuable as references to future historians of Lancashire; and to the other members of the central executive for their great and efficient services in the distribution of the largest benevolent fund upon record."

Lord Derby: I presume that it devolves upon me, as having been the chairman of the executive committee—whose labours I hope are now almost, if not finally, terminated—to return to you our thanks, for the manner in which you have acknowledged the services which it has been in our power to render from time to time. But for my own part I must disclaim the amount of merit which is attributed to me by the resolution, for in point of fact my labours have been very slight; they have consisted simply in attending, when more imperative duties did not call me elsewhere, once a week at the meetings of the executive committee, and there presiding over a body composed of men of various political and religious opinions, but acting together with a unanimity, cordiality, and harmony, which very seldom is to be found even in much smaller bodies. This harmony and unanimity is due, not to the chairman or to any influence which he might possess, but to the general feeling which pervaded all members of that committee, that they were working in one common cause, in which they had one common interest and one common duty to perform; and to the performance of that duty, I am satisfied each and everyone of that committee have sacrificed every other sentiment; feeling that it was imperative upon them to contribute anything they could do, towards the relief of a distress so great and unparalleled as that through which this county has recently passed. The best reward we can hope for any services which we may have been enabled to render, is in the first place to think that those services have been effectual; that they have, to a great extent, mitigated the pressure of that distress which this county has suffered; and that they have been accompanied with less of evil or less of ill consequences than might

have been expected, from the conduct of an experiment so novel, and at the same time so large. Next to the satisfaction of having contributed to the general good of the country, must be the satisfaction we feel at the confidence which you, gentlemen, under whom we have been acting, have been pleased to repose in us; the approbation which you have given to the measures we have pursued, and to the confidence you have been pleased to assure us we have established, in our good intentions and discretion, throughout the county which it has been our desire to serve and assist. I am sure, in the name of the whole committee, I may offer you our most grateful thanks for the manner in which you have appreciated our services; and for my own part, I can only say you have very far overrated anything it has been in my power to do.

The meeting then separated.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AND BALANCE SHE

DR. FROM 9TH JUNE, 1

	To 30th June, 1864. Lancashire and the Cotton Districts.	To 30th June, 1864. General, throughout the Un. Kingdom.	To 31st December, 1864.	Total.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s.
To 25,765 *Donations*	89,724 6 2	89,132 11 0	.. ..	178,856 17
19 ,, ...	117 0 0	314 18 11	431 18 11	
215 ,, payable by instalments	52,628 2 10	11,380 12 0	.. ..	64,008 14
To Subscriptions from 3,092 churches, chapels, &c. ..	6,343 17 3	46,921 9 6	.. ..	53,265 6
Do. 1 ,, ..	.. ..	12 10 0	12 10 0	
Do. 5,402 parishes, &c. ..	9,274 8 11	56,242 19 3	.. ..	65,517 8
Do. 1 ,, ..	.. ..	0 13 7	0 13 7	
Do. Employés of 1,483 firms ..	8,194 6 2	7,520 14 2	.. ..	15,715 0
Do. 1 ,, ..	.. ..	1 10 6	1 10 6	
Do. 1,213 Relief committees* ..	140,930 18 0	356,851 17 1	.. ..	497,782 15
Do. 28 ,, * ..	3 0 4	1,645 12 6	1,648 12 10	
Total to 30th June, 1864	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	875,146 2
,, for six months ended 31st December, 1864	120 0 4	1,975 5 6	2,095 5 10	2,095 5
Less: On account of subscriptions and donations, payable by instalments, included in the account to 31st December, 1862, as outstanding	30,642 7 2	27,824 4 0	200 0 0	877,241 8 58,666 11
	To 30th June, 1864.	To 31st Dec., 1864.	Total from each Place.	818,574 17
To Foreign and Colonial Subscriptions, viz.:—				
Australia (including New South Wales) ..	52,188 5 10	.. ..	52,188 5 10	
Nova Scotia	5,751 11 3	.. ..	5,751 11 3	
China	2,056 2 6	.. ..	2,056 2 6	
India	1,899 17 7	6 18 6	1,906 16 1	
Canada	2,560 9 7	.. ..	2,560 9 7	
Cape of Good Hope	3,234 10 3	.. ..	3,234 10 3	
Germany	1,032 1 0	0 10 0	1,032 11 0	
France	1,239 4 6	.. ..	1,239 4 6	
The Brazils	4,638 4 11	.. ..	4,638 4 11	
Turkey	793 4 0	.. ..	793 4 0	
Egypt	1,527 3 0	.. ..	1,527 3 0	
Italy	777 8 7	.. ..	777 8 7	
Holland	556 5 6	.. ..	556 5 6	
Spain	230 16 2	.. ..	230 16 2	
Gibraltar	105 16 0	.. ..	105 16 0	
Russia	716 14 3	. ..	716 14 3	
South America	2,067 6 1	.. ..	2,067 6 1	
Austria	207 14 8	.. ..	207 14 8	
Africa	426 14 2	.. ..	426 14 2	
Newfoundland	313 7 1	.. ..	313 7 1	
Smyrna	728 16 0	.. ..	728 16 0	
New Zealand	3,088 8 4	.. ..	3,088 8 4	
West Indies	2,955 2 3	.. ..	2,955 2 3	
North America	1,288 11 5	44 14 6	1,333 5 11	
Java	283 16 8	.. ..	283 16 8	
The Sandwich Islands	772 17 0	.. ..	772 17 0	
Madeira and sundry Foreign	1,050 1 8	.. ..	1,050 1 8	92,542 13
To Sale of sundry Consignments	499 3 10	.. ..	.. ..	499 3
To Tolls returned by Railway Companies	.. ..	7 14 7	.. ..	7 14
To Interest allowed by Bankers	16,338 3 0	.. ..	3,435 9 4	19,773 12
Deduct for subscriptions included Dec. 31st, 1862, and transmitted direct to the *Cotton District Fund* £10,240 0 0				931,398 1
,, *Liverpool Fund* 10,100 0 0				
,, *other Funds and Subscriptions promised but not collectable* .. 13,510 7 0	.. ..			33,850 7

* These sums include—The Cotton District Relief Fund .. £85,732 12 0
Liverpool Fund 56,400 0 0
Edinburgh Relief Committee 34,425 4 8
Dublin Relief Committee 25,000 0 0

£897,547 14

From the commencement of the subscription up to 4th December, 1865, the receipts in donations, subscriptio
The expenditure to the same date was—for general grants, £751,822. 4s. 4d.; for educational and employment gra
£8,662. 12s. 3d; making a total of £847,258. 10s. 8d. granted. Expenses, £10,265. 5s. 1d.; cost of carriage, £544. 13s. 8
difference between the subscriptions and the expenditure, including balance in hand, consists of subscriptions promi

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

31st December, 1864. *CR.*

	To 30th June, 1864.	To 31st Dec., 1864.	Total.
Grants:—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
For general relief to 161 committees to 30th June, 1864, and to 58 since that date	648,637 4 4	65,130 0 0	
,, Clothing to 204 committees	55,266 0 0	.. ..	
	703,903 4 4	65,130 0 0	769,033 4 4
Grants from the Employment and School Fund to 130 committees to 30th June, 1864, and to 9 since that date:—			
For educating youths and adults	4,962 8 2	85 13 10	
,, Sewing schools	4,833 18 2	52 0 0	
,, School fees of children whose parents are in receipt of relief.	11,931 3 0	515 0 5	
,, Superintendence of labour	2,205 13 0	127 8 0	
	23,933 2 4	780 2 3	24,713 4 7
Grants:—			
For clothing to operatives employed for wages under the Public Works Act	3,400 0 0	2,211 11 6	5,611 11 6
Donations:—			
Appropriated to special localities as directed by donors	8,262 12 3	.. ..	8,262 12 3
General Expenses:—			
Advertising	4,439 14 3	6 15 0	
Printing and stationery	1,179 8 1	133 17 0	
Postage and bill stamps	559 14 9	34 4 7	
Salaries and wages	1,941 16 3	304 10 0	
Deputations' expenses, telegrams, and miscellaneous	403 16 7	57 13 10	
Carriage..	284 5 8	1 0 5	
Packing materials	80 17 1	9 14 10	
Fixtures for the several offices	155 9 8	.. ..	
Rent of temporary warehouse, &c.	56 6 0	2 1 4	
	9,101 8 4	549 17 0	9,651 5 4
Tolls on coals distributed (which will be returned)	541 13 8	.. ..	541 13 8
Balance:—			
Cash at bankers	134,261 8 11	71,864 3 0	
Do. with honorary secretary	43 6 5	32 14 10	
Subs. outstanding (including those payable by instalments)..	8,929 7 6	8,729 7 6	
	143,234 2 10	80,626 5 4	
:—			
Amounts due to sundry tradesmen 31 4 0	.. ..	.. ..	
Grants awarded not paid at date 360 19 0	.. ..	.. ..	
Do. for clothing do. 500 0 0	.. ..	892 3 0	
			79,734 2 4

ese items include expenses incurred in the receipt and distribution of the following donations in kind, viz:—

,500 barrels of flour, estimated value	£20,580 0 0	The larger portion of these articles were received through the International and the British Residents' Relief Committees of New York.
997 ,, beef, bacon, &c	5,583 4 0	
500 ,, biscuits	750 0 0	
410 ,, fish	102 10 0	
228 sacks of potatoes, carrots, turnips, &c.	54 0 0	
225 deer, sundry braces of pheasants, hares, rabbits, &c.	524 0 0	
28 chests of tea	350 0 0	
2½ pipes and 108 dozens of wine	389 0 0	
,519 tons of coal	3,455 14 0	
,933 bales of clothing, blankets, &c., repacked into 8,018 bales	80,180 0 0	
	£111,968 8 0	

ARTHUR H. HEYWOOD, *Treasurer.*
JOHN WM. MACLURE, *Hon. Sec.*

Verified this 13th day of January, 1865.
BROOME, CHILD, MURRAY & CO.,
Public Accountants, Manchester.

897,547 14 0

tions, sales of consignments, &c., amounted to £883,055. 12s. 4d. exclusive of bank interest, £20,780. 1s. 11d. 096. 2s. 7d.; for clothing grants, £61,677. 11s. 6d.; and for special grants and donations to special districts, hich a large portion has been returned; leaving a balance of £37,546. 18s. on hand, 4th December, 1865. The ot paid.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

FUND FOR RELIEF OF DISTRESS IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The Right Honourable the Earl of Derby, K.G. (chairman).
Sir James P. Kay-Shuttleworth, Baronet (deputy chairman),

The Right Honourable Lord Egerton of Tatton.
The Right Honourable Lord Edward Howard, M.P.
Colonel Wilson Patten, M.P.
Major Egerton Leigh.
Thomas Ashton, Esq.
Edmund Ashworth, Esq.
G. L. Ashworth, Esq.
Robert Gladstone, Esq.
Nathaniel Eckersley, Esq.
Joseph Fenton, Esq.
J. Goodair, Esq.
Robert Hutchison, Esq.
R. H. Hutchinson, Esq.
J. Robinson Kay, Esq.
Hugh Mason, Esq.
Robert M'Clure, Esq.
John Platt, Esq.
W. Rathbone, jun., Esq.
William Roberts, Esq.
Malcolm Ross, Esq.
J. S. Stern, Esq.
James Worrall, Esq.
The Worshipful the Mayor of Manchester (chairman of general committee).
H. B. Farnall, Esq. (special commissioner, *ex officio*).
A. H. Heywood, Esq. (treasurer).

John William Maclure, Esq. (honorary secretary).

The following report was presented to the central executive in November, 1864, but has not before been published; and Mr. Maclure has since kindly furnished the return up to March, 1865:

"Manchester, November 21, 1864.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—The accompanying tables afford a comparison between the ordinary expenditure for relief of the poor in the twenty-eight unions of the cotton district, and that of the years which have been affected by the cotton famine.

"The excess of expenditure over 1861 (which may be taken as an average year) in in-door maintenance and out-door relief, including that of the local relief committees, in the year ended Lady-day, 1862, was £40,221; in 1863, £1,287,597; in 1864, £949,554; and during the six months ended Michaelmas, 1864, over £300,000; being a total excess of expenditure of £2,577,372 in the three years and six months, during which the present exceptional state of distress has continued.

"During the *three* years ended Lady-day, 1864, the guardians expended in the relief of the poor £1,937,928, and the local committees £1,372,454, making a total of £3,310,382; whilst, in 1861, the guardians of the poor spent only £313,135.

"Of the amount received by the committees, £289,938 was from local sources; but, in addition to that amount, the central committee received £276,453 in subscriptions from the cotton districts; and it is estimated that no less a sum than £220,000 was locally distributed in private charity, beyond the large amount voluntarily remitted by manufacturers and property owners for cottage rents.

For the information referring to the guardians' relief I am indebted to Mr. F. Purdy, of the poor-law board.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN WM. MACLURE, *hon. sec.*

"N.B. With reference to the expenditure in the various unions, as shown in the tables, I beg particularly to call attention to the note at the foot of each page."

TABLE I.

EXPENDITURE FOR IN-MAINTENANCE AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF BY GUARDIANS IN THE TWENTY-EIGHT DISTRESSED UNIONS OF THE COTTON DISTRICTS, FOR THE YEAR ENDED LADY-DAY,

1861.

UNION.	Population in 1861.	Assessment in 1861.	Expenditure of Guardians.		Expenditure of Local Committees.	Total.	Rate of Expenditure in the £ on Assessment.*
			In-maintenance.	Out-door Relief.			
		£	£	£	£	£	s. d.
1. Ashton-under-Lyne	134,761	313,350	2,144	4,197	..	6,341	0 4⅞
2. Barton-upon-Irwell	39,050	136,828	1,013	2,398	..	3,411	0 6
3. Blackburn	119,937	272,448	2,290	6,957	..	9,247	0 8⅛
4. Bolton	130,270	360,729	3,131	9,067	..	12,198	0 8
5. Burnley	75,888	185,142	644	5,505	..	6,149	0 8
6. Bury	101,142	328,223	2,209	6,142	..	8,351	0 6⅛
7. Chorley	41,679	150,215	890	3,524	..	4,414	0 7
8. Chorlton	169,573	475,905	5,293	5,849	..	11,142	0 5⅝
9. Clitheroe	20,476	93,525	620	2,179	..	2,799	0 7⅛
10. Fylde (The)	25,263	117,761	723	2,513	..	3,236	0 6⅝
11. Garstang	12,411	72,168	306	2,050	..	2,356	0 7¾
12. Glossop	21,140	53,445	468	621	..	1,089	0 4⅞
13. Haslingden	69,782	143,952	922	2,705	..	3,627	0 6
14. Lancaster	24,006	106,625	544	2,810	..	3,354	0 7½
15. Leigh	37,700	104,954	1,088	2,128	..	3,216	0 7⅜
16. Macclesfield	61,517	198,688	2,067	6,130	..	8,197	0 9⅞
17. Manchester	185,040	789,203	16,250	12,628	..	28,878	0 9
18. Oldham	111,267	226,201	3,889	4,087	..	7,976	0 8½
19. Preston	110,488	331,704	5,118	7,194	..	12,312	0 8⅞
20. Prestwich	58,578	182,170	565	1,645	..	2,210	0 2⅞
21. Rochdale	91,758	254,208	2,162	6,512	..	8,674	0 8¼
22. Saddleworth	18,630	53,997	669	713	..	1,382	0 6⅛
23. Salford	105,334	337,719	3,718	5,339	..	9,057	0 6⅜
24. Skipton	31,185	142,427	648	5,855	..	6,503	0 11
25. Stockport	94,361	242,361	2,787	3,768	..	6,555	0 6½
26. Todmorden	29,727	89,696	..	3,417	..	3,417	0 9⅛
27. Warrington	43,788	149,249	1,695	4,169	..	5,864	0 9⅜
28. Wigan	94,559	266,193	2,529	6,617	..	9,146	0 8½
Total	2,060,000	6,036,659	64,382	126,719	..	191,101	0 7⅝

* N.B. Beyond in-maintenance and out-door relief, the guardians expended £122,034 for the maintenance of paupers in lunatic asylums, for the repayment of workhouse loans and interest, for salaries of officers and for other purposes immediately connected with relief. Thus the total expenditure in the year ended Lady-day, 1861, was £313,135, or 1s. 0⅜d. in the pound on the assessment of the twenty-eight unions.

TABLE II.

EXPENDITURE FOR IN-MAINTENANCE AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF BY GUARDIANS IN THE TWENTY-EIGHT DISTRESSED UNIONS OF THE COTTON DISTRICTS, FOR THE YEAR ENDED LADY-DAY,

1862.

UNION.	Population in 1861.	Assessment in 1861.	Expenditure of Guardians.		Expenditure of Local Committees.	Total.	Rate of Expenditure in the £ on Assessment.*	
			In-maintenance.	Out-door Relief.				
		£	£	£	£	£	s.	d.
1. Ashton-under-Lyne	134,761	313,350	2,659	5,771	..	8,430	0	6⅜
2. Barton-upon-Irwell	39,040	136,828	1,263	2,363	..	3,626	0	6⅜
3. Blackburn	119,937	272,448	2,814	11,011	..	13,825	1	0⅛
4. Bolton	130,270	360,729	3,831	9,783	..	13,614	0	9⅛
5. Burnley	75,888	185,142	844	6,056	..	6,900	0	8¾
6. Bury	101,142	328,223	2,390	6,960	..	9,350	0	6⅞
7. Chorley	41,679	150,215	1,176	4,031	..	5,207	0	8⅜
8. Chorlton	169,573	475,905	5,823	5,919	..	11,742	0	6⅛
9. Clitheroe	20,476	93,525	687	1,939	..	2,626	0	6¾
10. Fylde (The)	25,623	117,761	885	2,548	..	3,433	0	7
11. Garstang	12,411	72,168	251	2,245	..	2,496	0	8⅛
12. Glossop	21,140	53,445	536	903	..	1,439	0	6½
13. Haslingden	69,782	143,952	1,067	3,115	..	4,182	0	7
14. Lancaster	24,006	106,625	536	2,788	..	3,324	0	7½
15. Leigh	37,700	104,954	1,201	2,260	..	3,461	0	7⅞
16. Macclesfield	61,517	198,688	2,733	7,292	..	10,025	1	0⅛
17. Manchester	185,040	789,203	20,551	17,198	..	37,749	0	11⅜
18. Oldham	111,267	226,201	4,364	4,850	..	9,214	0	9¾
19. Preston	110,488	331,704	6,314	13,275	..	19,589	1	2⅛
20. Prestwich	58,578	182,170	547	2,128	..	2,675	0	3½
21. Rochdale	91,758	254,208	2,242	7,871	..	10,113	0	9½
22. Saddleworth	18,630	53,997	671	851	..	1,522	0	6¾
23. Salford	105,334	337,719	3,944	6,995	..	10,939	0	7¾
24. Skipton	31,185	142,427	695	6,342	..	7,037	1	0
25. Stockport	94,361	242,361	3,190	5,720	..	8,910	0	8⅞
26. Todmorden	29,727	89,696	..	3,587	..	3,587	0	9⅝
27. Warrington	43,788	149,249	2,086	4,514	..	6,600	0	10⅝
28. Wigan	94,559	266,193	2,724	6,983	..	9,077	0	8¾
Total	2,060,000	6,036,659	76,024	155,298	..	231,322	0	9¼

* N.B. Beyond in-maintenance and out-door relief, the guardians expended £123,838, for the maintenance of paupers in lunatic asylums, for the repayment of workhouse loans and interest, for salaries of officers, and for other purposes immediately connected with relief. Thus the total expenditure in the year ended Lady-day, 1862, was £355,160, or 1s. 2¼d. in the pound on the assessment of the twenty-eight unions.

TABLE III.

EXPENDITURE FOR IN-MAINTENANCE AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF BY GUARDIANS AND LOCAL COMMITTEES IN THE TWENTY-EIGHT DISTRESSED UNIONS OF THE COTTON DISTRICTS, FOR THE YEAR ENDED LADY-DAY,

1863.

UNION.	Population in 1861.	Assessment in 1861.	Expenditure of Guardians.		Expenditure of Local Committees.	Total.	Rate of Expenditure in the £ on Assessment.*		
			In-maintenance.	Out-door Relief.			Guardians.	Local Committees.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1. Ashton-under-Lyne ..	134,761	313,350	3,055	61,545	136,228	200,828	4 1⅜	8 8¼	12 10⅞
2. Barton-upon-Irwell ..	39,050	136,828	1,491	2,981	8,731	13,203	0 7⅞	1 3⅜	1 11¼
3. Blackburn ..	119,937	272,448	3,361	42,588	70,542	116,491	3 4¼	5 2¼	8 6½
4. Bolton	130,270	360,729	5,085	19,329	20,736	45,150	1 4¼	1 1¾	2 6
5. Burnley	75,888	185,142	1,077	20,630	30,466	52,173	2 4	3 3¼	5 7¼
6 Bury	101,142	328,223	2,755	22,930	24,201	49,886	1 7⅛	1 5¾	3 0⅞
7. Chorley	41,679	150,215	1,412	9,313	16,273	26,998	1 5⅛	2 2	3 7⅛
8. Chorlton . ..	169,573	475,905	6,922	30,878	31,878	69,678	1 7	1 4⅛	2 11⅛
9. Clitheroe ..	20,476	93,525	808	4,066	3,111	7,985	1 0⅜	0 7⅞	1 8¼
10. Fylde (The) ..	25,263	117,761	992	3,471	754	5,217	0 9⅛	0 1½	0 10⅝
11. Garstang ..	12,411	72,168	267	2,958	300	3,525	0 10¾	0 1⅝	1 0⅜
12. Glossop	21,140	53,445	646	11,208	17,446	29,300	4 3¼	6 6⅜	10 9⅝
13. Haslingden ..	69,782	144,952	1,175	18,435	30,924	50,534	2 8½	4 3½	7 0
14. Lancaster ..	24,006	106,625	673	3,657	2,170	6,500	0 9¾	0 4¾	1 2½
15. Leigh	37,770	104,954	1,384	4,073	2,701	8,158	1 0½	0 6⅛	1 6⅝
16. Macclesfield ..	61,517	198,688	2,872	10,963	10,305	24,140	1 4¾	1 0½	2 5¼
17. Manchester ..	185,040	789,203	20,930	87,605	84,925	193,460	2 9	2 1¾	4 10¾
18. Oldham	111,267	226,201	5,143	23,242	46,746	75,131	2 6⅛	4 1½	6 7⅝
19. Preston	110,488	331,704	7,646	60,401	73,486	141,533	4 1¼	4 5⅛	8 6⅜
20. Prestwich ..	58,578	182,170	1,248	5,018	8,868	15,134	0 8¼	0 11⅝	1 7⅞
21. Rochdale ..	91,758	254,208	2,440	32,228	40,857	75,525	2 8¾	3 2⅜	5 11⅛
22. Saddleworth ..	18,630	53,997	760	4,122	659	5,541	1 9¾	0 2⅞	2 0¼
23. Salford	105,334	337,719	4,728	24,419	25,296	54,443	1 11⅛	1 5¼	3 4⅜
24. Skipton	31,185	142,247	821	7,855	2,965	11,641	1 2⅝	0 5	1 7⅝
25. Stockport ..	94,361	242,361	3,729	28,194	67,760	99,683	2 7¼	5 5⅞	8 1⅛
26. Todmorden ..	29,727	89,696	..	9,840	9,191	19,031	2 2⅜	2 0⅝	4 3
27. Warrington ..	43,788	149,249	2,599	6,536	1,341	10,476	1 2¾	2 0⅛	3 2⅞
28. Wigan	94,559	266,193	3,117	14,910	40,307	58,334	1 4¼	3 1⅛	4 5⅜
Total	2,060,000	6,036,659	87,136	573,395	809,167	1,469,698	2 2⅜	2 8⅛	4 10⅜

* N.B. Beyond in-maintenance and out-door relief, the guardians expended £163,257 for the maintenance of paupers in lunatic asylums, for the repayment of workhouse loans and interest, for salaries of officers, and for other purposes immediatcly connected with relief. Thus the total expenditure in the year ended Lady-day, 1863, was £823,788, or 2s. 9¾d. in the pound on the assessment of the twenty-eight unions.

TABLE IV.

EXPENDITURE FOR IN-MAINTENANCE AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF BY GUARDIANS AND LOCAL COMMITTEES IN THE TWENTY-EIGHT DISTRESSED UNIONS OF THE COTTON DISTRICTS, FOR THE YEAR ENDED LADY-DAY,

1864.

UNION.	Population in 1861.	Assessment in 1861.	Expenditure of Guardians.		Expenditure of Local Committees.	Total.	Rate of Expenditure in the £ on Assessment.*		
			In-maintenance.	Out-door Relief.			Guardians.	Local Committees.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1. Ashton-under-Lyne	134,761	313,350	2,618	61,897	116,066	180,581	4 1⅜	7 4⅝	11 6
2. Barton-upon-Irwell	39,050	136,828	1,403	3,729	1,924	7,056	0 9	0 3⅜	1 0⅜
3. Blackburn ..	119,927	272,448	3,153	20,403	44,147	67,703	1 8⅝	3 2⅞	4 11½
4. Bolton	130,270	360,729	4,629	18,395	18,661	41,685	1 3⅜	1 0⅜	2 4¾
5. Burnley ..	75,888	185,142	836	13,746	7,477	22,059	1 6⅞	0 10	2 4⅞
6. Bury	101,142	328,223	2,800	22,466	36,704	61,970	1 6¼	2 2¾	3 9
7. Chorley	41,679	150,215	1,311	9,398	8,361	19,070	1 5⅛	1 1⅜	2 6½
8. Chorlton ..	169,573	475,905	6,602	39,613	24,673	70,888	1 11¼	1 0¼	2 11½
9. Clitheroe ..	20,476	93,525	727	3,675	492	4,894	0 11¼	0 1¼	1 1¼
10. Fylde (The) ..	25,263	117,761	948	3,890	166	5,004	0 9¾	..	0 9¾
11. Garstang ..	12,411	72,168	254	3,043	185	3,482	0 11⅛	..	0 11⅛
12. Glossop	21,140	53,445	723	14,643	28,903	44,269	5 9	10 10	16 7
13. Haslingden ..	69,782	143,952	1,085	12,387	14,604	28,076	1 10½	2 0⅜	3 10⅞
14. Lancaster ..	24,006	106,625	706	3,285	1,361	5,352	0 9	0 3	1 0
15. Leigh	37,770	104,954	1,361	4,478	487	6,326	1 1	0 1	1 2
16. Macclesfield ..	61,517	198,688	2,585	10,640	3,427	16,652	1 4	0 4⅕	1 8⅞
17. Manchester ..	185,040	789,203	20,077	64,894	28,715	113,686	2 1⅞	0 8⅜	2 9¼
18. Oldham	111,267	226,201	4,824	19,695	31,324	55,843	2 2	2 9⅛	4 11⅛
19. Preston	110,488	331,704	7,713	51,074	56,462	115,249	3 6½	3 4¾	6 11¼
20. Prestwich ..	58,578	182,170	575	6,232	4,432	11,239	0 9	0 5¾	1 2¼
21. Rochdale ..	91,758	254,208	2,501	27,398	27,267	57,166	2 4½	2 1⅝	4 6⅛
22. Saddleworth ..	18,630	53,997	675	5,651	387	6,713	2 4⅛	0 1⅝	2 5¾
23. Salford	105,334	337,719	4,338	19,266	17,162	40,766	1 4⅛	1 0⅛	2 4¼
24. Skipton	31,185	142,427	869	6,651	828	8,348	1 0⅝	0 1⅜	1 2
25. Stockport ..	94,361	242,361	3,674	15,187	55,320	74,181	1 6⅝	4 6¾	6 1⅜
26. Todmorden ..	29,727	89,696	....	7,744	4,859	12,603	1 8¾	1 1	2 9¾
27. Warrington ..	43,788	149,249	2,627	6,133	....	8,760	1 2	..	1 2
28. Wigan	94,559	266,193	3,079	19,062	28,883	51,024	1 8	2 2	3 10
Total	2,060,000	6,036,659	82,693	494,675	563,287	1,140,655	1 11	1 10¼	3 9¼

* N.B. Beyond in-maintenance and out-door relief, the guardians expended £181,612, for the maintenance of paupers in lunatic asylums, for the repayment of workhouse loans and interest, for salaries of officers, and for other purposes immediately connected with relief. Thus the total expenditure for the year ended Lady-day, 1864, was £758,980, or 2s. 6¼d. in the pound on the assessment of the twenty-eight unions.

TABLE V.

Expenditure of Guardians and Local Committees in the Years ended Lady Day, 1861-2-3-4 and the Excess of Expenditure in 1862-3-4 over that of 1861.

Union.	Population in 1861.	Assessment in 1861.	Total Annual Expenditure of Guardians for In-maintenance and Out-door Relief and Local Committees.				Excess of Annual Expenditure over that of 1861.			
			1861.	1862.	1863.	1864.	1862.	1863.	1864.	Total
		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1. Ashton-under-Lyne	134,761	313,350	6,341	8,430	200,828	180,581	2,089	194,487	174,240	370,8
2. Barton-upon-Irwell	39,050	136,828	3,411	3,626	13,203	7,056	215	9,792	3,645	13,6
3. Blackburn	119,937	272,448	9,247	13,825	116,491	67,703	4,578	10,244	58,456	170,2
4. Bolton	130,270	360,729	12,198	13,614	45,150	41,685	1,416	32,952	29,487	63,8
5. Burnley	75,888	185,142	6,149	6,900	52,173	22,059	751	46,024	15,910	62,6
6. Bury	101,142	328,223	8,351	9,350	49,886	61,970	999	41,535	53,619	96,1
7. Chorley	41,679	150,215	4,414	5,207	26,998	19,070	793	22,584	14,656	38,0
8. Chorlton	169,573	475,905	11,142	11,742	69,678	70,888	600	58,536	59,746	118,8
9. Clitheroe	20,476	93,525	2,799	2,626	7,985	4,894	173	5,186	2,095	7,2
10. Fylde (The)	25,623	117,761	3,236	3,433	5,217	5,004	197	1,981	1,768	3,9
11. Garstang	12,411	72,168	2,356	2,496	3,525	3,482	140	1,169	1,126	2,4
12. Glossop	21,140	53,445	1,089	1,439	29,300	44,269	350	28,211	43,180	71,7
13. Haslingden	69,782	143,952	3,627	4,182	50,534	28,076	555	46,907	24,449	71,9
14. Lancaster	24,006	106,625	3,354	3,324	6,500	5,352	30	3,146	1,998	5,1
15. Leigh	37,700	104,954	3,216	3,461	8,158	6,326	245	4,942	3,110	8,2
16. Macclesfield	61,517	198,688	8,197	10,025	24,140	16,652	1,828	15,943	8,455	26,2
17. Manchester	185,040	789,203	28,878	37,749	193,460	113,686	8,871	164,582	84,808	258,2
18. Oldham	111,267	226,201	7,976	9,214	75,131	55,843	1,238	67,155	47,867	116,2
19. Preston	110,488	331,704	12,312	19,589	141,533	115,249	7,277	129,221	102,937	239,4
20. Prestwich	58,578	182,170	2,210	2,675	15,134	11,239	465	12,924	9,029	22,4
21. Rochdale	91,758	254,208	8,674	10,113	75,525	57,166	1,439	76,851	48,492	126,7
22. Saddleworth	18,630	53,997	1,382	1,522	5,541	6,713	140	4,159	5,331	9,6
23. Salford	105,334	337,719	9,057	10,939	53,443	40,766	1,882	44,386	31,709	77,9
24. Skipton	31,185	142,427	6,503	7,037	11,641	8,348	534	5,138	1,845	7,5
25. Stockport	94,361	242,361	6,555	8,910	99,683	74,181	2,355	93,128	67,626	163,1
26. Todmorden	29,727	89,696	3,417	3,587	19,031	12,603	170	15,614	9,186	24,9
27. Warrington	43,788	149,249	5,864	6,600	10,476	8,760	736	4,612	2,896	8,2
28. Wigan	94,559	266,193	9,146	9,707	58,334	51,024	561	49,188	41,878	91,6
Total	2,060,000	6,036,659	191,101	231,322	1,469,698	1,140,655	40,221	1,287,597	949,554	2,277,3

N.B. Beyond in-maintenance and out-door relief, the guardians have expended the following sums for maintenance of paupers in lunatic asylums, for the repayment of workhouse loans and interest, for salaries of offic and other purposes immediately connected with relief:—in 1861, £122,034; in 1862, £123,838; in 1863, £163,9 and in 1864, £181,612. The total expenditure in *three* years ended Lady Day, 1864, *i.e.*, from the commencemen the cotton famine, was £3,310,382, or 10s. 11½d. in the pound on the assessment of the twenty-eight unions, be £2,277,372 in excess of that of ordinary times.

TABLE VI.

EXPENDITURE FOR IN-MAINTENANCE AND OUT-DOOR RELIEF BY GUARDIANS AND LOCAL COMMITTEES IN THE TWENTY-EIGHT DISTRESSED UNIONS OF THE COTTON DISTRICTS, FOR THE YEAR ENDED LADY-DAY,

1865.

UNION.	Population in 1861.	Assessment in 1861.	Expenditure of Guardians.		Expenditure of Local Committees.	Total.	Rate of Expenditure in the £ on Assessment.*		
			In-maintenance.	Out-door Relief.			Guardians.	Local Committees.	Total.
		£	£	£	£	£	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1. Ashton-under-Lyne ..	134,761	313,350	2,666	34,422	59,220	96,308	2 4⅜	3 9	6 1⅜
2. Barton-upon-Irwell ..	39,050	136,828	1,534	3,411	346	5,291	0 8⅝	0 0½	0 9⅞
3. Blackburn ..	119,937	272,448	3,667	17,464	10,899	32,030	1 7	0 9½	2 4½
4. Bolton	130,270	360,729	4,378	14,938	3,754	23,070	1 0¾	0 2½	1 3¼
5. Burnley	75,888	185,142	792	11,142	6,470	18,404	1 3⅜	0 8	1 11⅜
6. Bury	101,142	328,223	2,881	22,204	10,270	35,355	1 6⅜	0 7½	2 1⅝
7. Chorley	41,679	150,215	1,075	7,056	1,789	9,920	1 0⅞	0 2¾	1 3⅝
8. Chorlton ..	169,573	475,965	8,579	20,146	7,731	36,456	1 2¼	0 4	1 6¼
9. Clitheroe.. ..	20,476	93,525	661	3,359	298	4,318	0 10¼	0 0¾	0 11
10. *Fylde (The) ..	25,263	117,761	964	3,306	127	4,397	0 8⅝	0 0¼	0 8⅞
11. Garstang ..	12,411	72,168	262	2,816	..	3,078	0 10¼	..	0 10¼
12. Glossop	21,140	53,445	612	3,769	12,904	17,285	1 7⅝	4 10	6 5⅝
13. Haslingden ..	69,782	143,952	1,135	9,369	7,523	18,027	1 5½	1 0¾	2 6¼
14. Lancaster ..	24,006	106,625	658	3,108	..	3,766	0 8½	..	0 8½
15. Leigh	37,700	104,954	1,249	3,514	64	4,827	0 10¾	..	0 10¾
16. Macclesfield ..	61,517	198,688	2,097	9,268	109	11,474	1 1⅝	0 0½	1 2⅛
17. Manchester ..	185,040	789,203	20,323	29,510	1,910	51,743	1 3⅛	..	1 3⅛
18. Oldham	111,267	226,201	4,399	12,531	13,771	30,701	1 5⅞	1 2¼	2 8⅛
19. Preston	110,488	331,704	7,834	21,874	17,646	47,354	1 9½	1 0¾	1 10¼
20. Prestwich ..	58,578	182,170	600	3,408	523	4,531	0 5½	0 0¾	0 6¼
21. Rochdale ..	91,758	254,208	2,567	15,002	7,445	25,014	1 4½	0 7	1 11½
22. Saddleworth ..	18,630	53,997	571	3,121	..	3,692	1 4⅜	..	1 4⅜
23. Salford	105,334	337,719	3,889	13,076	681	17,646	1 0	0 0½	1 0½
24. Skipton	31,185	142,427	818	5,621	479	6,918	0 10¾	0 0¾	0 11½
25. Stockport ..	94,361	242,361	3,383	9,992	13,271	26,646	1 1¼	1 1	2 2¼
26. Todmorden ..	29,727	89,696	..	5,654	441	6,095	1 3⅛	0 1¼	1 4⅜
27. Warrington ..	43,788	149,249	2,948	5,438	..	8,386	1 1⅜	..	1 1⅜
28. Wigan	94,559	266,193	3,297	13,718	10,341	27,356	1 3¼	0 9¼	2 0½
29. Sundry not in Cotton Districts proper									
Total	2,059,310	6,036,659	83,839	308,237	188,012	580,088	1 3½	0 7¾	1 11¼

* This does not include the maintenance of paupers in lunatic asylums, the repayment of workhouse loans and interest, or salaries of officers, and other purely establishment charges.—J. W. MACLURE.

TABLE I.

NAME OF CITY, BOROUGH, TOWN, PARISH, UNION, TOWNSHIP, OR PLACE TO WHICH LOANS HAVE BEEN ORDERED BY THE POOR LAW BOARD, FOR THE SEVERAL PURPOSES AS PROVIDED FOR BY THE PUBLIC WORKS ACT, 1863-4.

NAMES OF PLACES.	Local Authorities.	Amount of Loans ordered by the Poor Law Board.	Dates of Board's Orders.	For Sewerage Works.	Road and Street Improvements.	Water Supply.	Public Parks and Recreation Grounds.	Cleansing, Embanking, and Pitching, Rivers, &c.	Land Drainage and other Agricultural Works.	Cemeteries.	Erection or Extension of Market Places.	Gasworks.	Street Bridges.	Public Baths.
		£		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1. Accrington	Local Board	3,000	10 Oct. 1863	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	24,200	5 Dec. 1863	429	23,771	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	11,900	29 Jan. 1864	..	2,500	..	..	..	..	..	9,400	..	..	..
2. Adlington (Chorley)	Board of Guardians	1,900	21 Sept. 1863	..	1,900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Ashton-under-Lyne	Town Council	6,343	9 Oct. 1863	3,760	2,583	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	59,489	17 Mar. 1864	10,246	49,243	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	1,700	30 Aug. 1864	874	826	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	57,500	8 Oct. 1864	..	..	57,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Ardwick (Manchester)	Corporation	30,000	9 Jan. 1864	4,000	26,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Atherton	Local Board	5,216	20 June 1864	1,063	4,153	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	8,669	24 Aug. 1864	..	..	8,669	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Bacup	Ditto	14,600	24 Mar. 1864	10,040	3,060	..	..	1,500	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	5,000	29 Aug 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,000	..	..	..
7. Barton and Eccles	Ditto	3,000	26 Aug. 1864	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Bedford	Ditto	10,893	11 April 1864	4,543	6,350	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Blackburn	Town Council	78,300	19 Aug. 1863	13,750	59,512	..	..	5,038	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	66,825	28 Oct. 1863	14,470	45,005	..	1,350	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,000
10. Bollington	Local Board	9,859	31 Aug. 1863	2,000	1,139	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,720	..	..
11. Bolton	Town Council	55,000	5 Oct. 1863	9,912	30,370	10,000	1,000	3,000	..	..	..	..	718	..
Ditto	Ditto	66,000	29 April 1864	13,582	52,418	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	4,934	10 May 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,934	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	52,000	13 Oct. 1864	..	..	40,000	12,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12. Bowdon	Local Board	2,750	9 June 1864	2,750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Bradford	Ditto	5,000	17 June 1864	500	4,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	500	..
14. Bredbury (Stockport)	Board of Guardians	400	11 Jan. 1864	..	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	1,840	18 May 1864	1,840	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15. Brindle (Chorley)	Ditto	1,200	5 Oct. 1863	..	1,200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16. Broughton (Salford)	Town Council	9,500	4 Mar. 1864	4,250	5,250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	3,100	2 May 1864	..	3,100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17. Burnley	Ditto	37,800	28 Nov. 1863	..	17,060	18,728	..	..	..	..	..	2,012	..	..

continued.

TABLE I.—Name of City, Borough, Town, Parish, Union, Township, or Place to which Loans have been ordered, &c.—*continued.*

Names of Places.	Local Authorities.	Amount of Loans ordered by the Poor Law Board.	Dates of Board's Orders.	For Sewerage Works.	Road and Street Improvements.	Water Supply.	Public Parks and Recreation Grounds.	Cleansing, Embanking, and Pitching, Rivers, &c.	Land Drainage and other Agricultural Works.	Cemeteries.	Erection or Extension of Market Places.	Gasworks.	Street Bridges.	Public Baths.
		£		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
18. Bury	Im. Commissioners	33,259	11 Mar. 1864	10,150	23,109	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	15,000	29 June 1863	..	..	..	..	..	..	15,000	..	..	..	..
19. Charnock Rich'd (Chorley)	Board of Guardians	1,200	2 Dec. 1863	..	1,200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20. Cheadle Bulkeley (Stockp't)	Ditto	1,802	25 May 1864	1,802	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21. Cheadle Moseley (Stockp't)	Ditto	698	25 May 1864	698	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22. Chorley (Cheshire)	Local Board	2,500	9 Oct. 1863	2,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	10,000	24 Oct. 1863	3,000	..	7,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23. Ditto (Lancashire)	Im. Commissioners	14,250	21 Nov. 1863	..	14,250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24. Chorlton (Manchester)	City Corporation	13,000	11 Jan. 1864	..	13,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	4,000	13 May 1864	1,000	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25. Cheetham (Manchester)	Ditto	18,260	9 Jan. 1864	..	18,260	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26. Clayton-le-Moors	Local Board	10,709	9 April 1864	4,961	5,748	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27. Crompton	Ditto	2,330	9 June 1864	..	2,330	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28. Cuerden (Chorley)	Board of Guardians	750	5 Dec. 1863	..	..	..	..	..	750	..	..	..	..	..
29. Darcy Lever (Bolton)	Ditto	1,400	22 Oct. 1863	370	1,030	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
30. Denton	Local Board	2,222	30 Sept. 1863	2,222	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	2,035	29 Jan. 1864	535	1,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	1,521	18 Aug. 1864	1,521	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
31. Didsbury (Chorlton)	Board of Guardians	7,500	30 Oct. 1863	7,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32. Droylsden	Local Board	2,800	9 Feb. 1864	2,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	300	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	11,421	14 April 1864	3,564	7,357	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	500	..
33. Dukinfield	Ditto	2,010	24 Aug. 1863	578	1,432	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	9,000	21 Sept. 1863	2,495	6,505	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	8,400	10 Sept. 1864	2,760	5,640	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	6,700	1 Oct. 1864	1,723	4,977	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	9,000	29 Dec. 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,000	..	..	..	..
34. Edgworth (Bolton)	Board of Guardians	1,500	12 Oct. 1863	..	1,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
35. Euxton (Chorley)	Ditto	566	22 June 1864	..	566	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
36. Failsworth	Local Board	6,500	5 April 1864	1,090	4,635	..	..	..	..	..	475*	300	..	..
37. Farnworth	Ditto	17,500	26 Jan. 1864	6,400	11,100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38. Glossop	Board of Guardians	3,500	18 Sept. 1863	..	..	1,540	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	1,138	12 Feb. 1864	..	1,138	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	5,317	12 Feb. 1864	..	2,134	..	..	..	3,183	..	..	..	..	..

* Offices.

TABLE I.—Name of City, Borough, Town, Parish, Union, Township, or Place to which Loans have been ordered, &c.—*continued.*

Names of Places.	Local Authorities.	Amount of Loans ordered by the Poor Law Board.	Dates of Board's Orders.	For Sewerage Works.	Road and Street Improvements.	Water Supply.	Public Parks and Recreation Grounds.	Cleansing, Embanking, and Pitching Rivers, &c.	Land Drainage and other Agricultural Works.	Cemeteries.	Erection or Extension of Market Places.	Gasworks.	Street Bridges.	Public Baths.
		£		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
38. Glossop	Board of Guardians..	5,092	25 June 1864	..	1,370	1,122	..	..	2,600	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	1,354	25 June 1864	..	1,354	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	5,130	8 Dec. 1864	200	2,720	200	..	..	1,960	50	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	7,500	22 Dec. 1864	..	..	7,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
39. Gorton	Local Board	25,000	1 Mar. 1864	5,600	18,400	..	..	..	..	..	1,000*	..	..	..
40. Great Harwood	Ditto	8,000	29 Dec. 1864	3,000	5,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	280	26 Sept. 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	280†	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	500	5 Oct. 1864	..	..	500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
41. Halliwell	Ditto	3,250	14 June 1864	2,000	1,250	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42. Handforth (Stockport) ..	Board of Guardians..	400	24 Aug. 1864	..	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
43. Harwood (Bolton) ..	Ditto	1,614	12 Nov. 1863	..	1,614	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
44. Hazel Grove (Stockport)..	Ditto	2,000	30 Sept. 1863	2,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	900	25 June 1864	900	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	800	23 June 1864	800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45. Heaton Norris (Stockport)	Ditto	2,583	3 Mar. 1864	2,583	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46. Heywood	Local Board	30,000	30 Aug. 1864	10,000	20,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
47. Horwich (Bolton).. ..	Board of Guardians..	1,600	18 Nov. 1863	..	1,600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
48. Hulme (Manchester) ..	City Corporation ..	7,600	13 May 1864	1,728	5,872	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49. Hurst	Local Board	1,000	31 Oct. 1863	500	500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50. Hyde	Ditto	14,200	28 Mar. 1864	14,200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	14,790	22 June 1864	3,300	11,490	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
51. Lancaster	Ditto	7,000	31 Dec. 1863	..	..	7,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
52. Little Lever (Bolton) ..	Board of Guardians..	1,670	9 Oct. 1863	536	1,134	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53. Macclesfield (Borough) ..	Local Board	33,500	14 Sept. 1863	18,500	15,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	7,500	12 Oct. 1863	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,500	2,500	..	1,500	..
Ditto	Ditto	5,530	30 Dec. 1864	1,500	4,030	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
54. Macclesfield Union ..	Board of Guardians..	5,530	25 Sept. 1863	1,380	4,000	150	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	5,000	13 Oct. 1863	..	5,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	2,000	26 Feb. 1864	..	..	..	..	..	2,000	..	..	..	..	..
55. Manchester (City) ..	City Corporation ..	25,000	11 Jan. 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	25,000	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	130,000	14 Jan. 1864	..	..	130,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
56. Marple (Stockport) ..	Board of Guardians..	730	9 Jan. 1864	..	730	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	1,400	14 June 1864	..	1,400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Offices. † Slaughterhouses.

TABLE I.—Name of City, Borough, Town, Parish, Union, Township, or Place to which Loans have been ordered, &c.—*continued.*

TABLE I.—Name of City, Borough, Town, Parish, Union, Township, or Place to which Loans have been ordered, &c.—*continued.*

Names of Places.	Local Authorities.	Amount of Loans ordered by the Poor Law Board.	Dates of Board's Orders.	For Sewerage Works.	Road and Street Improvements.	Water Supply.	Public Parks and Recreation Grounds.	Cleansing, Embanking, and Pitching Rivers, &c.	Land Drainage and other Agricultural Works.	Cemeteries.	Erection or Extension of Market Places.	Gasworks.	Street Bridges.	Public Baths.
		£		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
57. Middleton and Tonge ..	Imp. Commissioners	6,000	17 Nov. 1863	1,209	4,791	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
58. Mossley	Local Board	5,000	9 Nov. 1864	3,550	..	200	..	..	..	..	..	520	1,000	..
59. Newton in Mackerfield ..	Imp. Commissioners	9,000	5 Mar. 1864	9,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	1,000	11 Mar. 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,000*	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	3,620	7 May 1864	..	3,620	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	6,880	24 May 1864	3,000	3,880	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60. Offerton (Stockport) ..	Board of Guardians..	200	28 Sept. 1863	..	200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	200	12 Mar 1864	..	200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	100	29 Aug. 1864	..	100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
61. Oldham	Town Council ..	18,000	28 Sept. 1863	..	..	..	18,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	5,700	13 Jan. 1864	..	..	..	5,700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	75,000	10 May 1864	14,993	57,022	..	2,985	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	4,200	29 June 1864	..	..	..	4,200	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	3,000	27 Dec. 1864	..	..	..	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	14,280	30 Dec. 1864	14,280	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
62. Openshaw	Local Board	20,000	21 June 1864	6,450	13,350	..	..	..	..	..	200†	..	..	..
63. Oswaldtwistle	Ditto	22,738	12 Oct. 1863	3,000	2,138	17,600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
64. Over Darwen	Ditto	2,000	28 Sept. 1863	2,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	31,000	5 Dec. 1863	8,300	22,700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
65. Over Darwen (Hoddlesden)	Ditto	1,000	5 Dec. 1863	700	300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
66. Pendleton (Salford) ..	Town Council ..	1,000	25 April 1864	..	..	..	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	15,505	18 Aug. 1864	7,289	8,216	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
67. Pennington	Local Board	11,685	19 Feb. 1864	3,710	7,975	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
68. Poulton	Ditto	4,500	31 Dec. 1863	..	..	4,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
69. Preston	Ditto	28,500	24 Aug. 1863	..	25,500	..	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	19,739	24 Oct. 1863	3,141	16,598	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	15,000	18 Oct. 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15,000	..	..	..
70. Quarlton (Bolton) ..	Board of Guardians	460	9 June 1864	..	460	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
71. Ramsbottom	Local Board	8,500	26 Aug. 1864	4,250	3,150	..	..	..	..	..	350*	250	500	..
72. Reddish (Stockport) ..	Board of Guardians	300	17 June 1864	38	262	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

* Offices. † Slaughterhouses.

TABLE I.—Name of City, Borough, Town, Parish, Union, Township, or Place to which Loans have been ordered, &c.—*continued.*

NAMES OF PLACES.	Local Authorities.	Amount of Loans ordered by the Poor Law Board.	Dates of Board's Orders.	For Sewerage Works.	Road and Street Improvements.	Water Supply.	Public Parks and Recreation Grounds.	Cleansing, Embanking, and Pitching Rivers, &c.	Land Drainage and other Agricultural Works.	Cemeteries.	Erection or Extension of Market Places.	Gasworks.	Street Bridges.	Public Baths.
		£		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
73. Rochdale	Town Council	5,000	14 Jan. 1864	..	5,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	10,600	14 April 1864	..	1,050	..	7,050*	2,500	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	14,000	29 June 1864	14,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
74. Romiley (Stockport)	Board of Guardians	300	9 June 1864	..	300	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
75. Royton	Local Board	1,000	30 April 1864	164	836	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	3,000	31 Aug. 1864	250	2,750	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
76. Rusholme	Ditto	3,000	29 Feb. 1864	3,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
77. Salford	Town Council	40,000	3 Mar. 1864	3,000	17,000	..	..	..	..	..	13,000	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	760	2 May 1864	..	275	..	..	..	..	..	7,000†	..	485	..
80. Sharples (Bolton)	Board of Guardians	2,100	20 May 1864	..	2,100	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
81. Skerton (Lancaster)	Ditto	600	31 Dec. 1863	..	..	600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
82. Spotland (Rochdale)	Ditto	1,000	29 Feb. 1864	..	1,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	2,000	24 Aug. 1864	..	2,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
83. Stalybridge	Town Council	2,954	9 Oct. 1863	2,954	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	3,000	6 April 1864	2,534	466	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	5,834	26 Aug. 1864	982	4,852	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	62,500	8 Oct. 1864	..	..	62,500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
84. Stockport	Ditto	25,493	11 Jan. 1864	25,493	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	883	13 May 1864	..	833	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	2,000	26 May 1864	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,000	..
Ditto	Ditto	31,000	25 June 1864	..	28,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,000	..
85. Tintwistle (Ashton)	Board of Guardians	400	30 Oct. 1863	..	..	400	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
86. Tyldesley	Local Board	7,100	26 Jan. 1864	842	6,258	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	8,650	19 Sept. 1864	..	..	8,650	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
87. West Houghton (Bolton)	Board of Guardians	1,560	19 Dec. 1863	..	1,560	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
88. West Leigh	Local Board	5,312	19 Feb. 1864	2,712	2,600	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
89. Wheelton (Chorley)	Board of Guardians	700	19 Dec. 1863	..	700	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
90. Wigan	Local Board	30,270	21 Oct. 1863	..	..	30,270	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ditto	Ditto	17,800	11 Jan. 1864	..	17,800	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total £	1,846,082	- - -	370,946	839,007	414,629	58,285	13,038	12,453	52,550	59,139	10,832	10,203	5,000

* For purchasing and preparing Site for Public Buildings.

† Manure Depôt.

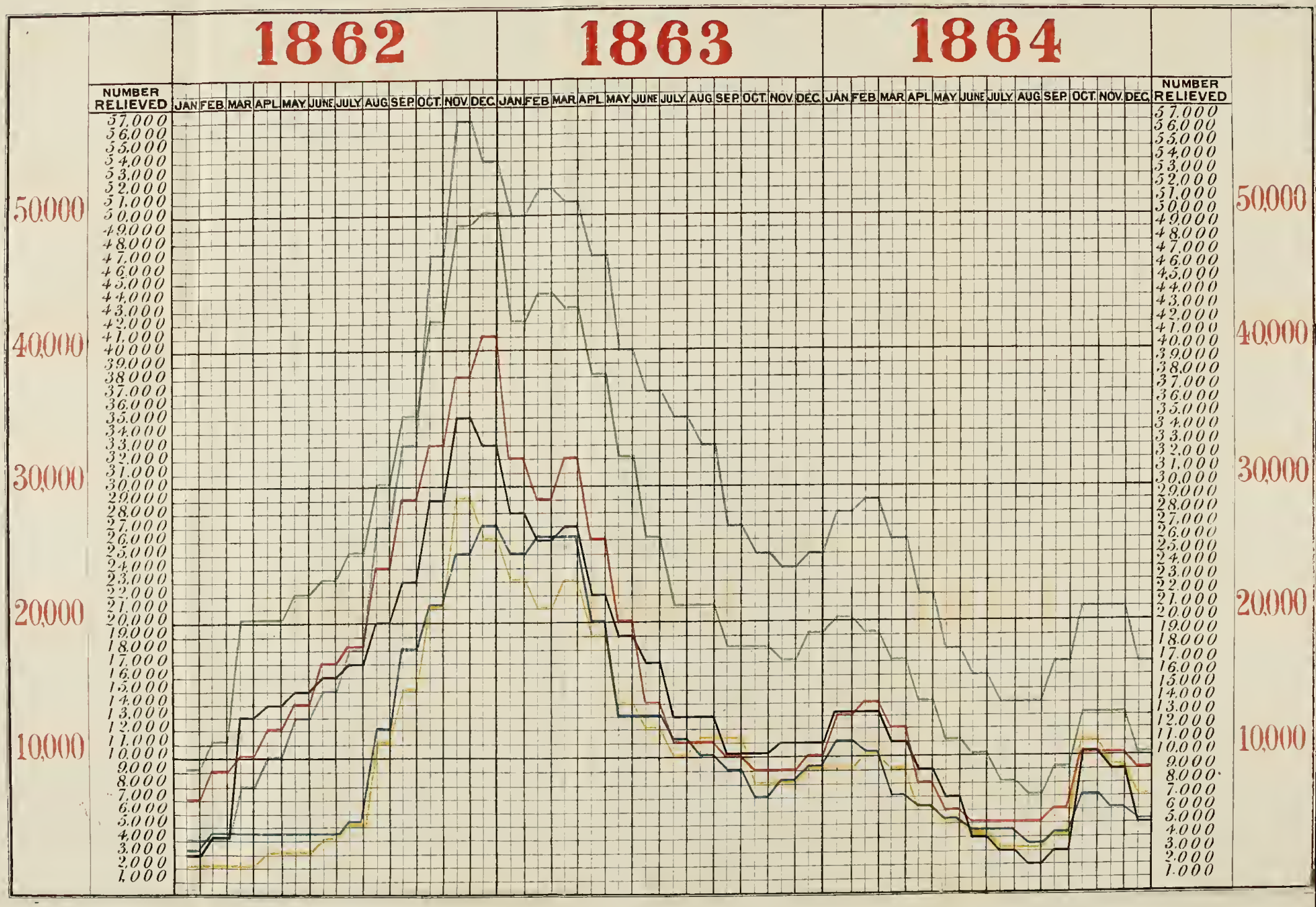
DIAGRAM OF FLUCTUATIONS

In the number of persons **RELIEVED.**

EITHER BY THE GUARDIANS OR THE LOCAL COMMITTEES,

IN SIX OF THE TWENTY-EIGHT UNIONS, IN THE

DISTRESSED COTTON MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.



Unions	*Population*	*Assessment* £	*Monthly Expenditure of Guardians January, 1862.*	*Monthly Expenditure of Local Committees & Guardians December, 1862.*	*Monthly Expenditure of Local Committees & Guardians December, 1864.*
ASHTON under LYNE	*134,761*	*313,350*	£ *652*	£ *2,147*	£ *6,353*
PRESTON	*110,488*	*331,701*	" *2,048*	" *7,071*	" *3,007*
BLACKBURN	*119,937*	*272,448*	" *1,404*	" *5,185*	" *2,872*
STOCKPORT	*94,361*	*242,361*	" *752*	" *3,885*	" *2,451*
OLDHAM	*111,267*	*226,201*	" *428*	" *3,870*	" *2,744*
ROCHDALE	*91,758*	*254,208*	" *876*	" *4,216*	" *2,198*

Drawn by R. E. JOHNSON, from Returns compiled by J. W. MACLURE.

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